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THE
PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER:
OR,
HISTORY
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS
OF
IRELAND,

The FIFTH SESSION of the FOURTH PARLIAMENT
in the Reign of his PRESENT MAJESTY.

Which met at DUBLIN on the 18th of JANUARY, and ended
the 18th of APRIL, 1788.

VOL. VIII.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY P. BYRNE, No. 108, GRAFTON-STREET,
AND W. PORTER, No. 12, SKINNER-ROW.

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

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Published by J. G. & J. H. B. in the Strand, London.
The price of the work is 10s. 6d. per volume.
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T H E
N A M E S
O F T H E
KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and BURGESSES,
RETURNED TO SERVE IN THE
PRESENT PARLIAMENT,
WITH THE
PLACES THEY REPRESENT.

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Sir Charles Desvoeux, Bart.

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Sir Edward Leslie, Bart.

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Charles Steuart, Esq;
John Maxwell, Esq: Sworn
17th January, 1788.

Francis Saunderson, Esq; in
the Room of the said John
Maxwell, declared not duly
returned. Sworn 22d Fe-
bruary, 1788.

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Smyth, Bart.

Right Hon. David Latouche.

Borough of Cavan.

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Right Hon. Henry Theophilus
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John Thomas Foster, Esq;

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borough.

Borough of Baltimore.

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Borough of Bandon-bridge.

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Borough of Castlemartyr.

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Borough of Cloghnikilly.

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City of Cork.

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Augustus Warren, Esq;

Borough of Doneraile.

Hon. Hayes St. Leger.
James Chatterton, Esq;
John Harrison, Esq; in the
Room of the said Hayes St.
Leger, now Lord Viscount
Doneraile. Sworn 18th Fe-
bruary, 1788.

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Cromwell Price, Esq;

Town of Mallow.

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Borough of Middleton.

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Henry Vaughan Brooke, Esq;

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January, 1788.

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Borough of Newry.

Robert Ross, Esq;
Isaac Corry, Esq;

Borough of Newtown.

Right Hon. John Ponsonby,
Sir Wm. Evans Ryves Morris,
Bart.
Henry Alexander, Esq; in the
Room of the said John Pon-
sonby, deceased. Sworn 4th
February, 1788.

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Room of the said Hugh
Massy, now Lord Massy.
Sworn 12th March, 1788.

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K. B.

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John Doyle, Esq;

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Nich. Loftus Tottenham, Esq;

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Conway Heatly, Esq;

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Warden Flood, Esq;
Sir John Allen Johnston, Bart.

Borough of Blessington.

John Reilly, Esq;
Sir Richard Johnston, Bart.

Borough of Carysfort.

Sir Thomas Osborne, Bart.
John Proby Osborne, Esq;
Right Hon. Alleyne Fitzher-
bert, in the Room of the
said John Proby Osborne, de-
ceased. Sworn 19th Janua-
ry, 1788.

Borough of Wicklow.

Edward Tighe, Esq;
Samuel Hayes, of Avondale,
Esq;

O F F I C E R S

ATTENDING THE HONOURABLE

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

<i>Chief Clerk,</i>	Edward Cooke, Esq;
<i>Chief Assistant,</i>	Benjamin Higgins, Esq;
<i>Clerk of the Journals and Papers,</i>	James Corry, Esq;
<i>Clerk of the Engrossments,</i>	Dawson Ellis, Esq;
<i>Committee Clerks,</i>	{ Geo. Fred. Winstanley, Esq;
	{ Jonathan Rogers, Esq;
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<i>Assistant Serjeant at Arms,</i>	Thomas L'Estrange, Esq;

THE
PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER:
OR,
HISTORY
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1788.

THE House being met, according to the last prorogation, the following message was brought from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

“ Mr. Speaker,

*“ It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure, that
“ this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers.”*

The Speaker, with the House, went up to attend his Excellency ; and being returned, the Speaker reported that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament, of which, the Speaker said, to prevent mistakes, he had obtained a copy, which he read to the House ; and it was afterwards read by the Clerk at the table, and is as follows :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

*“ His Majesty having been pleased again to call me to the
government of Ireland, I have received his royal commands to
meet you in Parliament.*

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B

" At the same time that I feel myself highly flattered by this repeated mark of his Majesty's confidence, I must lament with you the heavy loss which his service has sustained by the death of the Duke of Rutland, whose public and private virtues had so deservedly conciliated the esteem of this kingdom.

" His Majesty is persuaded that you will share the satisfaction which he feels in the present situation of foreign affairs, and particularly in the restoration of the constitution and tranquillity of the United Provinces, favoured by the seasonable and vigorous exertions which were made by his Majesty, and by the brilliant success of the Prussian troops under the conduct of his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick. The measures which his Majesty has adopted on this occasion have been productive of advantages which, while they have added to the lustre of his crown, have materially promoted the essential interests of his dominions.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have ordered the national accounts and the necessary estimates to be prepared and laid before you; and with the fullest confidence in your zeal and loyalty, I obey his Majesty's commands in recommending to you to provide for the public service.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" My former experience of the affectionate attachment which his Majesty's subjects of Ireland have borne to his person and government, and the very particular interest which I must feel in your welfare, will never fail to animate my endeavours in pursuit of every object which may promote his Majesty's paternal wishes for the happiness of this kingdom. With this view, I must more especially direct your attention to the support of that great staple of your commerce, the Linen Manufacture, to the protection and regulation of the Protestant Charter Schools, to the security of the Church of Ireland, and to those principles which your wisdom and humanity have already pointed out for the advancement of education and of useful knowledge.

" I have seen, with particular satisfaction, your rising prosperity, and the rapid increase of your commerce and manufactures: And I shall be anxious to co-operate with you in improving the advantages which the credit of the country must derive from the blessings of peace. But while you are sensible of the value of these blessings, I am persuaded that you feel the warmest concern for the honour of his Majesty's crown, and for the general interests of the empire; and that there is no part of his dominions from which his Majesty would have received a warmer or more zealous support, if he had judged it necessary to call forth into action the spirit and resources of his people."

◊ LORD DELVIN rose to move the address to his Majesty. He said no language could be too strong to express the happiness we

feel in being governed by a prince whose constant unremitting study is the paternal care of all his subjects; and he hoped long, long might he live in the hearts of the people of this kingdom. His lordship, in a pathetic strain, deplored the death of the Duke of Rutland, our late Chief Governor, to whose virtues he paid every tribute of applause. He dwelt for some time on those qualities which had so highly endeared that much lamented nobleman to the people of this country, as excited a return of the most grateful nature. His lordship observed, that his Majesty's attention to the interest of this country, manifested by his re-appointing to its government, a nobleman whose merit and good conduct, during his former administration, had deserved and received the unanimous approbation of Parliament, demanded our warmest acknowledgments; a nobleman attached as he was by the strongest ties, so was he confident that his undeviating object would be, the promoting the interest of Ireland; and he said, he rested satisfied that the nobleman now at the head of the administration of this country would gain more and more the confidence of the people. He touched on that part of the speech which noticed the re-establishment of tranquillity in the Seven United Provinces; for his part, instead of congratulating his Majesty on the success of his forces, he felt a greater pleasure in finding that an appeal to arms was rendered unnecessary, and that owing to the wisdom and spirit of his Majesty's councils; at the same time, if such an appeal was found necessary, he was bold to say, that none would be found more ready to risk their lives and fortunes in the service of the empire at large, than his Majesty's loyal subjects of Ireland. His lordship concluded with moving,

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, laying before his Majesty our unfeigned expressions of duty, loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's royal person, family and government. To represent to his Majesty, that we cannot sufficiently deplore the heavy loss which his Majesty's service has sustained by the premature and much-lamented death of our late Chief Governor. That the wise and steady course of his public administration had established the tranquillity and exalted the credit of the nation, whilst the amiable tenor of his private virtues had conciliated the love and esteem of every rank and description of the people; and that as long as the nobler qualities of the mind, the benevolent affections of the heart, affability in deportment, and complacency of manners, shall continue to warm the feelings and engage the attachments of a generous and grateful nation, the memory of the Duke of Rutland will be preserved and cherished in the bosoms of Irishmen. To assure his Majesty, that amidst these effusions of our heart-felt regret, we acknowledge his Majesty's peculiar attention and regard to our situation in the re-appointment to be Chief Governor of this kingdom a nobleman, who, during his

former residence in Ireland, had exerted the most unremitting attention to its affairs and interests, and merited the amplest testimony of gratitude for the wisdom and integrity of his government. That we fully participate in the satisfaction which results to his Majesty from the present situation of foreign affairs. That we are sensible of the beneficial consequences which have arisen from the restoration of the constitution and tranquillity of the United States, favoured by the brilliant success of the Prussian troops under the conduct of his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick; and that we acknowledge the wisdom of the seasonable and vigorous exertions which were made by his Majesty during the course of those events, and which have proved so materially conducive to the lustre of his crown, and to the essential interests of his dominions. That, zealous for the honour of his Majesty's government, we shall cheerfully provide the supplies that may be necessary for the public service. That we entertain the highest sense of gratitude for the assurances which we have received from the throne, of his Majesty's paternal wishes for the happiness of this kingdom. That we shall cultivate with earnestness those objects which have been recommended to our care, by directing our attention to the further extension of our Linen Manufacture, the protection and regulation of the Protestant Charter Schools, the security of the Established Church, and to those principles which wisdom and humanity point out for the promotion of education and useful knowledge. That in reviewing the progress which our commerce, manufactures and credit have made under his Majesty's auspicious protection and influence, we are stimulated to cherish with increased assiduity the blessings of peace. To repeat, however, with cheerfulness, our declaration to stand or fall with Great Britain: and to assure his Majesty, that if the honour of his Majesty's crown, or the interests of his dominions, had obliged his Majesty to resort to the spirit and resources of his people, there is no part of his empire from which his Majesty would have received a warmer and more zealous support than from his loyal subjects of Ireland."

Captain PACKENHAM seconded the motion.

MR. WESTBY.—From the conduct of our present Viceroy on his former appointment to the government of this country, as well as from that integrity of mind and purity of conduct which I am satisfied he most eminently possesses, but also from his great and extensive knowledge of our political system, added to his unwearied assiduity in investigating even the minutiae of our public affairs, I am induced to take this public opportunity of expressing my hearty approbation of the present address. But though I have expressed myself thus warmly on the present occasion, from the impressions which I now entertain of the intentions of our

present Viceroy for the good of this country, yet still, Sir, I would not have it understood that he is to expect either my countenance or support, or that I shall contribute an atom towards the support of his administration longer than I am satisfied he shall pursue such measures as shall tend to the advantage and real good of this country. But if I should hereafter at any time find myself mistaken in the impression which I at present entertain of his intentions, with respect to the public weal, or so soon as I shall find him deviate from that line of rectitude which has hitherto marked his conduct, I shall no longer think him entitled to that confidence and support which I hope every honest independent member of this House would otherwise afford him, who considers for a moment that high trust and important duty delegated to him by the community at large; and I trust, Sir, that whilst I know myself, and have a proper sense of that duty which I owe to the public in general, and to my constituents in particular, I shall never afford my aid or assistance to any administration who shall attempt to act inconsistent to the true interest of this country, and when I pursue a different line of conduct, I sincerely hope I may no longer be thought worthy of a seat in this House.

And here, Sir, permit me for a moment to pay that tribute which I think justly due to the memory of a nobleman I shall ever revere, whose amiable conduct and generous deportment through life, most highly endeared him to every man, and the measures of whose administration, though I neither approved of or supported, yet I am convinced that no man possessed a heart more strictly just or steadily attached to the real interests of this country, and that any measures inimical to this country, that were adopted during his Administration, ought not to be attributed to him, but to the artful and insidious councils of those men who much more regarded their own interests than the real good of their country.

Mr. PARSONS said he had not in attending to the noble lord's motion for an address, been able to perceive any thing but a mere echo of the speech, which, speaking of the Duke of Rutland's administration, seemed entirely to approve of it, and to bind the House to pursue the same measures which that Administration had done. He owned he was not at the moment prepared to enter into a subject of so much importance, but there were some points so notoriously disagreeable, and so highly injurious to the country, that he could not for a moment suppose the House would adopt any measure which would look like an approbation of them, much less would it pledge itself to retain all the measures of the Duke of Rutland's administration. He trusted the House would not now approve the act by which the press in Ireland was laid under a degree of restraint unknown in England; he well knew that under certain circumstances, very dissimilar laws might be found necessary in the two countries, but

the great fundamental principles of law ought to be the same in both; and therefore he hoped under the present Administration to see the press liberated from the shackles which the last had imposed: He also hoped to see the unconstitutional exercise of attachments discontinued; the present Administration he trusted would feel no necessity for such a guard. He also hoped a general police and riot-act, would be no longer deemed necessary; and therefore if gentlemen meant to do away these abominations, he could see no necessity for pledging themselves to, or for approving of them; they were all acts which tended to encrease prerogative, and diminish liberty, and the address as it stood embraced them all.

He observed, that throughout the whole speech, and the whole address, the word *economy* was no where to be found; he asked, therefore, did the present ministry mean to continue the same system of extravagance, by which the last had loaded the country with taxes? Or did they mean to retrench? If the latter, why not declare it? The expences of the country were, he said, enormous, and exceeded those of Lord Carlisle's administration, which was deemed sufficiently profuse, by a sum of not less than 660,000*l.* per annum; he again desired to know, was the profusion to be continued? There was no promise to the contrary in the speech, and therefore every man must infer it was; though it would be somewhat strange, after all the examination which had been made into the public offices, and which the nation supposed was for the purpose of retrenchment.

SIR HENRY HARTSTONGE.—My honourable friend is utterly mistaken in his ideas of the speech and the address—the address does but express that grief which we all feel, and I hope my honourable friend feels for the loss of the good, the amiable Duke of Rutland: it does not concern itself about the laws, let them be imputed where he will; and as to the word *economy*, which my honourable friend is so desirous of introducing, I am extremely glad it is not in the speech, because I have observed that those governors, whose speeches most abounded with *economy*, in their actions manifested the greatest want of it.

Mr. PARSONS said he now rose to make an amendment to the proposed address, by striking out all that part relating to the Duke of Rutland's steady administration. He did not intend, he said, to cast any blame on the memory of that nobleman; whatever blame was due should justly be thrown upon his ill advisers, his evil counsellors, who had prevented the effects of his noble and virtuous disposition from being experienced by the country.

SIR RICHARD ST. GEORGE seconded Mr. Parsons's motion.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE.—I never can sit silent and hear an imputation cast upon the memory of that truly amiable nobleman the Duke of Rutland. I saw the pain, the torture, the House suffered while the honourable gentleman was sporting with their feelings, and I am surprized they bore it so patiently; I am surprized that they did not, forgetful of order, rise and tear from his hands any paper which could tend to injure the honour of the man whom every body loved. We all know how deservedly dear the Duke of Rutland was to Ireland: When he arrived here he found the country torn with faction and general discontent—but when he left us, he left but one sentiment throughout the land—the utmost love and affection for his amiable character and disposition, and the deepest sorrow for his untimely loss.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL, (the Right. Hon. John Fitzgibbon.)—Had I thought the speech of the honourable gentleman deserved any reply, I should have been the first to rise against it; but the attack is so very impotent, that the best way is to pass it by in contemptuous silence.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, (Sir John Parnell, Bart.)—To shew what degree of credit is due to general assertions, unsupported by argument or by fact, I shall just take notice of what the honourable gentleman has said concerning profusion. The honourable gentleman states, that though Lord Carlisle's administration was deemed profuse, we are now actually spending at the rate of 660,000*l.* per ann. more than during that Administration.

Now the fact is, that the national expence for the two years of Lord Carlisle's administration was 2,067,000*l.*—the expence of the year 1786 was 1,082,000*l.* so that where the gentleman will find the encrease of 660,000*l.* he only can explain. I do but mention this, Sir, to shew what credit is due to general assertions, for I have no idea of following the honourable gentleman through the whole length of his speech; for, Sir, if we were to attend to such foreign matter, we should have to debate again all the questions that ever were debated in this House. As to the Duke of Rutland his merits are too deeply engraven on the minds of men—his loss is too much lamented by the nation—for any thing the honourable gentleman can say to change the public opinion.

Mr. BROWNLOW said he did not think the House called upon to enter into an animadversion on the measures of the last Administration; the words of the speech, or of the address, did not call for approbation, or challenge animadversion; they were in some degree words of course, and such as might well be conceded to the feelings of gentlemen, expressing no more than a just tribute of gratitude to the memory of the amiable Duke of Rutland.

As to our present Chief Governor, he said, his situation was different from that in which any other Chief Governor had ever stood—we had had experience of his ability and disposition to promote our prosperity—he had already given proofs of his talents for the great business of Government, and had shewn the most friendly disposition to our liberties and commerce; every thing, therefore, which could tend to benefit the country might be expected from him: nor were his expectations of œconomy the less, because the word was not to be found in the speech; for he agreed with an honourable member, that those governors who spoke most loudly of œconomy had exercised the smallest portion of it.

Mr. CONOLLY.—Though I have often voted against the measures of the last Administration, yet now I think it but candid to declare my opinion of the man whose death this nation laments. No man ever possessed a better heart than the Duke of Rutland did; if ever he erred, it was the error of judgment; he thought he was acting right; no earthly consideration could induce him to do the thing that he thought wrong—if any of the acts which passed during his Government are improper, let the majority of this House be blamed; for a more honourable man than the Duke of Rutland never lived in any country, and he, I am convinced, acted for the best. I must therefore reject any thing that can seem to glance the slightest imputation on his memory; but I will earnestly concur in whatever may serve to hand him down to posterity, as he really was, a man of the most exalted truth and honour.

Mr. PARSONS said he never meant to impute the injurious measures which he had mentioned, to any one but the Duke's evil counsellors; he would, however, consent to withdraw his amendment, but he thought he had a right to enquire on the first day of the session, what system ministers intended to pursue. It was always the practice in England to give such information, and he did not suppose ministers would refuse it here. He hoped that though gentlemen deemed a promise of œconomy unnecessary in the speech, they would have no objection to its being introduced into the address; he would therefore move after the word *service*, to insert these words—*and we hope that an effectual system of œconomy will be established, in place of that disgraceful profusion which the nation has so much reason to lament.*

He concluded by observing, that what he had said respecting the increase of the public expences, had been controverted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he had not the documents about him on which he had founded his opinion; he was however confident his opinion was well founded, and he doubted not that to-morrow he would be able to demonstrate the same to the House.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—If the public accounts are not sufficient documents, I do not know what are; but the honourable gentleman says he will be better prepared to-morrow; I would advise him then to defer his motion till to-morrow, for I shall not agree to these wholesale kind of charges, though I am ready whenever he chuses to go into the accounts—If the honourable gentleman does not chuse to meet me there, if he cannot shew some ground for his assertions, I hope the House will think with me, that no attention should be paid to general unfounded charges.

MR. CORRY said he rose with feelings very different from those on former occasions, when the acts of the last Administration were under discussion—he rose with the most poignant distress at hearing the character of the amiable Duke of Rutland made the subject of debate. Was the address to pledge gentlemen to any system, gentlemen might hesitate between the feelings of their hearts, and their duty to the public, but as it did not, he could see no reason for opposing it; and he intreated gentlemen would not stain the journals with any thing like a censure on the illustrious dead. He said he had never received a favour from the Duke of Rutland, his praise might therefore be deemed the more unbiassed and sincere; but he had the honour and the happiness to live in private with him, and he would be ever ready to declare, that a more honourable, benevolent, virtuous man never had existence. He begged his honourable friend would withdraw his motion, and not press a subject repugnant to the feelings of every man who heard him; for his part, he was ready to assent to every thing that could express the love, veneration and respect which the House and the nation entertained for the memory of the Duke of Rutland.

MR. PARSONS said he had no objection to obliging the honourable gentleman by withdrawing the amendment, though he could not perceive how any censure could be inferred from it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—If the honourable gentleman thinks so, let him put his absurdity to the House, otherwise let him withdraw it; but sure he cannot think it reasonable—first to tire the House with a long speech upon the address—then to move an amendment—then to make a speech upon that amendment—then to withdraw his amendment, with a speech upon withdrawing—then another amendment with another speech. If it is the honourable gentleman's pleasure to put his amendment, let it be done—but let him not trouble the House a sixth time upon this painful business.

MR. PARSONS said he had never been forward to speak, nor had what he said ever been influenced by office or emolument.

The question was put on Lord Delvin's motion, and it passed unanimously, and a committee was appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty.

Lord HEADFORT moved that an humble address of thanks be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for his most excellent speech this day to both Houses of Parliament.

Mr. MAXWELL seconded the motion, and after alluding to the loss this nation had sustained by the death of the Duke of Rutland, whose virtues all men honoured and revered, expressed the high sense of gratitude which the nation owed his Majesty, for having repaired that loss, by appointing a second time to the government of this kingdom a nobleman, in whose great capacity, tried integrity, and zeal for the public welfare, all men had placed the most unbounded confidence.

The resolution for an address to his Excellency passed unanimously.

The Hon. Mr. ANNESLEY said he begged to call the attention of the House to a subject of the last importance to the North of Ireland, and which seemed to threaten the linen manufacture with much mischief. A bank, he said, had been established in Belfast, for the purpose of issuing guinea notes. The proprietors, he admitted, were men of character and property, but notwithstanding, should it from any accident happen, that a run upon this bank should take place, the most fatal consequences to the staple of the kingdom were to be apprehended. He, therefore, felt it his duty to state the fact to the House thus early, as he knew the contagion was spreading, several similar banks being about to open, by which there was every reason to fear, that in a short time there would not be found a guinea in specie in the North of Ireland.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1788.

Lord DELVIN reported from the committee appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty, that they had drawn up the following, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table.

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled, to the KING's most Excellent MAJESTY.

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

" We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to lay

before your Majesty our unfeigned expressions of duty, loyalty and attachment to your royal person, family and government.

“ We cannot sufficiently deplore the heavy loss which your Majesty’s service has sustained by the premature and much-lamented death of our late Chief Governor. The wise and steady course of his public Administration had established the tranquillity and exalted the credit of the nation, whilst the amiable tenor of his private virtues had conciliated the love and esteem of every rank and description of the people. As long as the nobler qualities of the mind, the benevolent affections of the heart, affability in deportment, and complacency of manners, shall continue to warm the feelings and engage the attachments of a generous and grateful nation, the memory of the Duke of Rutland will be preserved and cherished in the bosoms of Irishmen.

“ Amidst these effusions of our heart-felt regret, we acknowledge your Majesty’s peculiar attention and regard to our situation in the re-appointing to be Chief Governor of this kingdom a nobleman who, during his former residence in Ireland, had exerted the most unremitting attention to its affairs and interests, and merited the amplest testimony of gratitude for the wisdom and integrity of his government.

“ We fully participate in the satisfaction which results to your Majesty from the present situation of foreign affairs. We are sensible of the beneficial consequences which have arisen from the restoration of the constitution and tranquillity of the United States, favoured by the brilliant success of the Prussian troops under the conduct of his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick; and we acknowledge the wisdom of the seasonable and vigorous exertions which were made by your Majesty during the course of those events, and which have proved so materially conducive to the lustre of your crown, and to the essential interests of your dominions.

“ Zealous for the honour of your Majesty’s government, we shall cheerfully provide the supplies that may be necessary for the public service,

“ We entertain the highest sense of gratitude for the assurances which we have received from the throne, of your Majesty’s paternal wishes for the happiness of this kingdom.

“ We shall cultivate with earnestness those objects which have been recommended to our care, by directing our attention to the further extension of our Linen manufacture, the protection and regulation of the Protestant Charter Schools, the security of the Established Church, and to those principles which wisdom and humanity point out for the promotion of education and useful knowledge.

“ In reviewing the progress which our commerce, manufactures and credit have made under your Majesty’s auspicious protection and influence, we are stimulated to cherish with increased assiduity the blessings of peace.

“ We repeat, however, with chearfulness, our declaration to stand or fall with Great Britain. If the honour of your Majesty's crown, or the interests of your dominions, had obliged your Majesty to resort to the spirit and resources of your people, there is no part of your empire from which your Majesty would have received a warmer and more zealous support than from your loyal subjects of Ireland.”

Mr. PARSONS said that he had withdrawn the amendment he had proposed to the address last night, from the deference he had for the opinion of some gentlemen with whom he wished, if possible, to co-operate; that he had done so with the greater readiness, knowing, that he might this day, if upon mature deliberation, it should seem to him adviseable, re-propose these amendments; and that now, upon a deliberate conviction, that some qualification of the address was necessary, he would offer one, which, he hoped, would remove the objection that had been made on the last night: the amendment he had to propose, so far from casting any shade upon the memory of the late Duke of Rutland, which it never could have been his intention to do, he conceived to be the most favourable comment that could be made on his Administration; for it cast the blame of all the pernicious measures of that Administration, where it was really due, upon his ministers. That as to the idea of an address being mere matter of form, he said he could never admit it; that it was a statement to the sovereign of the situation of the country, and therefore should contain the language of truth; that in a private transaction between one man and another, a man of honour would always think himself bound to state every thing fully and fairly, and how much more necessary was it upon this solemn occasion; that any man who thought the Administration of the late Duke of Rutland was wrong, could not now in truth and honour concur with that address, in saying it was right; that the forms the usual address went through being proposed one day and committed another, shewed it was not intended as a matter of course, but to prevent misstatement; that addresses should in this country be thus solemnly considered, was more material than in England; for our peers and principal commoners had not that frequent access to his Majesty's person, to make him acquainted with the state of the country as in England, nor was this island so immediately under his eye. Addresses from parliament therefore were the only vehicle of the state of the country to the royal mind. As to the language of compliment, he should not object to it, it was consistent with truth, though it was not the language suited to the dignity of that assembly, whose duty it was to superintend the government, not to flatter it. That it was the language of a levee, or of those who were in training for the council! What did the nation ever get by compliment? Was it compliment restored the constitution in 1782? Or was it not gentlemen standing in that House upon

the broad principle of public rectitude, and claiming the rights of the country? He then enumerated the acts of the last Administration, which, he said, had increased the influence of the crown in the short period of that Administration, more than it had been ever increased for a century in England. A bill restraining the press—the extension of the power of the King's-bench by attachment—a French police establishment in this city—a French marechaussée in the country—a riot-act and a navigation-law—an enormous increase of tax, and a most profligate expenditure of the public money. He proceeded to particular observations on these measures, stating how the constitution had suffered, and how the liberty of the subject was limited and endangered by them; explained the growth of the police in France, said it was there the most potent engine of arbitrary power—yet it was the strongest branch of French prerogative, and had been engrafted on the constitution of Ireland; that it was more dangerous than a standing army, as, to the formidable powers of a military body, were superadded those of civil magistracy; if carried to its extent, would raise an army of seven or eight thousand men, and place a centinel at every man's door. He exhorted the House of Commons to be as watchful, and as jealous of their rights as their brethren in England. He said the people of England might be thought over suspicious, but it was that suspicion which had preserved their constitution for so many ages—that the constitution of Ireland was but recovered the other day—that the fabric was not yet perfectly cemented, and could not be esteemed safe. He should therefore, he said, propose an amendment to the address, at the same time disclaiming the most distant idea of throwing the smallest personal reflection on the memory of the late Duke of Rutland.

He should, now he said, propose the following amendments, by expunging the words, *the wise and steady course of his public Administration had established the public tranquillity and exalted the credit of the nation*; and inserting in the room thereof the following: *At the same time, our regard to truth, and to the real interests of his Majesty and his loyal people of Ireland, which will not suffer us to convey an imperfect representation of the state of this kingdom to his royal mind, compel us to declare, that notwithstanding the good disposition which we are willing to believe our late lamented Chief Governor had for the prosperity of this island, yet, through the misguidance of his counsellors, this kingdom, during his Administration, has been afflicted with a most burthensome increase of taxation, and with several grievous and severe acts, repugnant to the principles of our wise constitution, and injurious to the liberties of his Majesty's subjects of this realm.*

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he had already refused the statement that had been made by the honourable gen-

tleman in respect to the growing expences of this country, and from authentic papers he had clearly proved, that the expences at this day are not 50,000*l.* more annually than at any one year during the administration of Lord Carlisle, though during the viceregency of that nobleman, 600,000*l.* were borrowed, the interest of which now makes part of our annual expence, this, together with the expence incurred by annual sessions, public buildings, and several other more minute matters, would evidently prove, that the expences of the country at this day are (taking all circumstances into consideration) really much less than at the period alluded to.

The amendment was negatived, and it was ordered that the Speaker, with the House, do attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the said address, and desire the same may be laid before his Majesty as the address of the House.

LORD HEADFORT reported from the committee appointed to draw up an address of thanks to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for his most excellent speech to both Houses of Parliament, that they had drawn up the following address; which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table.

To his Excellency GEORGE GRENVILLE NUGENT TEMPLE,
Marquis of BUCKINGHAM, Lord Lieutenant General, and
General Governor of Ireland:

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled:

" May it please your Excellency,

" We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Excellency our sincere thanks for your most excellent speech from the throne.

" Whilst your Excellency so justly deplores the severe loss which has resulted to his Majesty's service from the death of the Duke of Rutland, it is impossible for us to repress the keen sensations of our heart-felt sorrow and regret for that much-lamented and untimely event. The amiable and exalted qualities which distinguished that nobleman's character had indeed deservedly endeared him to our hearts, whilst his firm and prosperous administration had entitled him to our confidence, by securing the tranquillity, and encreasing the credit and commerce of the kingdom.

" It is, however, a signal consolation to us, that after so disastrous an event, we can repose our interests with full security in your Excellency's experienced virtues and acknowledged abilities. We have amply recorded our sense of the blessings we derived from your former administration, an administration

equally honourable to yourself and beneficial to Ireland. And we have the utmost confidence that your Excellency will again pursue that upright line of conduct, which cannot fail of engaging our full support, and ensuring the approbation of the kingdom.

“ We congratulate ourselves on the satisfaction which his Majesty feels from the present situation of foreign affairs, and particularly in the restoration of the tranquillity and constitution of the United Provinces, favoured by the rapid success of the Prussian arms under the conduct of his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, and by the vigorous and well-timed exertions of his Majesty. On reviewing these important events, we acknowledge and admire the superior wisdom of his Majesty’s counsels, which without interrupting the peace of his dominions, have so honourably augmented the lustre of his crown, and promoted the true interests of his empire.

“ We shall not hesitate to make the necessary provisions for the public service, through a well-founded confidence, that what we grant with cheerfulness will be expended with integrity.

“ We return your Excellency our sincere acknowledgments for the interest you are pleased to express for our welfare and prosperity. We feel assured, that convinced of our inviolable loyalty and attachment to our sovereign, you will represent our conduct with fidelity, whilst you promote with earnestness his Majesty’s paternal wishes for the happiness of Ireland.

“ We are sensible of your Excellency’s wisdom in recommending to our particular care that great staple of our commerce, the Linen Manufacture, as well as the protection and regulation of the Protestant Charter Schools, the security of the National Church, and those principles of education and useful knowledge which have been already suggested for improving the morals of the people; our attention will be immediately directed to those great objects which your Excellency has selected with such judicious knowledge of our real situation and true interests.

“ We cannot be sufficiently grateful for the satisfaction your Excellency has expressed at the increase of our credit and prosperity, and the extension of our commerce and manufactures, whilst we are convinced of your anxiety to improve the advantages which may be derived to them from sedulously cultivating the blessings of peace.

“ We must however request your Excellency to assure his Majesty, that no part of his empire would have displayed more alacrity and zeal for his service, if he had judged it necessary to call forth the spirit and resources of his people, in defence of the honour of his crown, or the general and common interests of the empire.”

It was resolved, that the said address do stand the address of the House, and that the Speaker, with the House, do attend his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the same.

A petition of the high-sheriff, noblemen, magistrates, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Kilkenny, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners have taken into their consideration the magistracy bill intended to be carried into force in this county; and humbly beg leave to lay before the House a faithful representation of the real situation of their county in regard to the peace and tranquillity thereof, and the power and inclination of the high sheriff, noblemen, magistrates, and gentlemen, to preserve the same. The tumults of the year eighty-six, which took rise in the Southern part of this kingdom, no sooner made their appearance in the county of Kilkenny, than the high sheriff, noblemen, magistrates, and gentlemen, associated for the preservation of the peace, and exerted themselves in so effectual a manner as not only to prevent the tumults from extending further into the province of Leinster, but also to cause an immediate restoration of peace and tranquillity to the county, which hath continued undisturbed unto this day. Justice to themselves and to their county induce them to represent this instance of their ability to preserve the peace of their county; and they beg leave to assure the House that they will, upon all future occasions, use their utmost exertion in suppressing all tumult and disorder, defeating all unjust and illegal combinations, and preserving the peace and due execution of the laws within their county, which experience hath proved them to be fully equal to; and therefore praying the House to exempt the county of Kilkenny from the operation and expence of the magistracy bill (which they conceive to be at this time an unnecessary burthen on the people) either by a repeal of the law, or such other means as to them shall seem meet.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL informed the House, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having been waited upon, pursuant to order, to know his Excellency's pleasure when he will be attended by the House with the addresses to his Majesty and to his Excellency, had been pleased to appoint to-morrow, at four o'clock, at the Castle.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1788.

The Right Hon. ALLEYNE FITZGERBERT, principal Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, took the oaths and his seat for the borough of Carysfort, in the county of Wicklow.

The SPEAKER reported that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the address to his Majesty, and that his Excellency was pleased to return the answer following:

“ I will forthwith transmit this dutiful and loyal address, to be laid before his Majesty.”

The **SPEAKER** reported also that he had presented the address of thanks to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for his most excellent speech to both Houses of Parliament, and that his Excellency was pleased to return the answer following :

“ I return you my best thanks for this address, so strongly expressive of your partiality to me ; and I trust that by perseverance in the same conduct which was formerly marked by the honourable testimony of your approbation and regards, I shall not be unworthy of the confidence which you have so kindly reposed in my zeal for the King’s service, and in my affection for this kingdom.”

A petition of Francis Saunderson, Esq; complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Cavan, was presented to the House and read.

Mr. **CLEMENTS** moved, that the petition be taken into consideration on Monday the 11th of February next.

Mr. **DENIS DALY** said, in order to give the parties sufficient time to prepare themselves, and that it should not interfere with term, when almost every lawyer of any note is engaged in the law courts, he wished the hearing of the merits of the petition would be postponed to the 18th instead of the 11th.

After a short conversation, it was fixed that the petition be taken into consideration on Wednesday the 13th of February next.

It was ordered that the Speaker do issue his warrant for such persons, papers, and records, as shall be thought necessary by the several parties, on the hearing the matter of the said petition.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1788.

Several public accounts, &c. were presented to the House.

Mr. **HAYES** took notice of the present enormous price of wool, and the ill effect it must necessarily have upon a valuable branch of our manufacture. He said he attributed some part of the rise in the price of that commodity to the difficulty of preserving sheep from thieves and plunderers, which deterred farmers from encouraging the propagation of that useful creature. He would not, he said, move any new penal law, but he thought the laws in being ought to be enforced, or, if necessary, altered and amended.

ed. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill *for the better preservation of sheep, and the more speedy detection of sheep-stealers.*

Leave was given accordingly ; and Mr. Hayes and Mr. Westby were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that in England there was existing a statute, tending much to the encouragement of seamen, and to the benefit of their families, as it enabled them to transmit to their friends or connexions such part of their wages as they thought proper, without undergoing the plunder of usurious charges, too frequent in this country ; to remedy which inconvenience he was induced, as much from humanity as from a desire to encourage Irish seamen, to move for leave to bring in a bill *for the encouragement of seamen employed in the navy, and for rendering it more easy to remit to this kingdom their wages, for the support of their wives and families resident here.*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1788.

Mr. CORRY said that last sessions, and for the two sessions before, he had suggested the idea of the necessity of reducing the duties on the import of tobacco, and increasing the inland excise on the manufacture of that article ; this, he was confident, would not only tend to encrease the revenue, and be highly advantageous to the fair trader, but it would also prevent smuggling in a very high degree ; and as he had last session given notice that he should call for the statement of the duties on the import and excise on tobacco, now that he saw the right honourable gentleman in his place, who so worthily presides at the revenue board, and who is ready on all occasions to give every information in his power, he should take the liberty of asking that right honourable gentleman at what time the necessary accounts in respect to the tobacco trade will be ready.

Mr. BERESFORD said he had just come from the office, where the accounts that the honourable gentleman wished for were making out, and which he believed would be ready this day. As to the idea suggested by the honourable gentleman, of lowering the duty on the import, it was not only approved of, but also adopted ; for the legislature had for these two last years thought proper to lay an excise on tobacco. He said he should bring down the papers necessary for the honourable gentleman's information along with him to-morrow to the House.

Mr. CORRY said his idea was for a further reduction of the duties on the import, and encreasing the excise ; this, he ob-

served, would, in all probability, operate as a total prevention to smuggling.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said it was his intention to bring forward a motion, for the lowering the duties on tobacco; and he facetiously observed, that he hoped, he then, for the first time, should have the honour of the honourable gentleman's concurrence and support.

Mr. CORRY said he should postpone making any motion on that head till to-morrow; but there were some other accounts which he should call for: and he then moved, "that the proper officer do lay before the House, an account of all sums of money expended in defending actions and prosecutions against revenue officers, together with the amount of damages obtained against them: and also the names of the persons to whom such sums were paid."

He also moved, "that the proper officer do lay before the House, an account of the sums expended in erecting the New Custom-house and Law Courts."

He observed, that last session he had declared the necessity there was for a revision and digest of the revenue laws, and the adoption of a proper mode of collecting the public revenue, which, in his opinion, was an object worthy the attention of Parliament; and after desiring the clerk to read from the journals, the account of what was received from dismissed collectors, or their securities, for the last ten years, by which it appeared there was no more than 134*l.* paid in during that period, he moved, "that the proper officer do lay before the House the amount of the sums received on account of forfeited recognizances, from the 25th of March, 1786, to the 25th of March, 1787.

These several motions were agreed to, and the accounts ordered.

On a motion being made for an account of what was borrowed on account of debentures,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that Government had last year borrowed money at three one-half per cent. by which a saving of one-eighth had accrued in the interest, and that they had paid off last year 15,000*l.* which bore an interest of four per cent. and they should pay off 50,000*l.* more the 24th of June next. This observation, he said, he made use of to shew that Government was acting a wise and a frugal part, for by paying off what it owed at four per cent. and being able to get what it wanted at three one-half per cent. a considerable saving would take place in the article of interest, which would consequently be brought to the credit of the national account.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1788.

Several public accounts were presented at the bar, pursuant to order, by the proper officers.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee appointed to consider of the supply to be granted to his Majesty, and also the Lord Lieutenant's speech to both Houses of Parliament.

It was ordered that the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on Friday, the 1st of February next, to consider of the supply to be granted to his Majesty, and also the Lord Lieutenant's speech.

Mr. MASON moved that the committee of accounts sit.

The PRIME SERJEANT expressed his wish that they should sit to-morrow at two o'clock, in order to expedite the public business.

Mr. CORRY said he had no more intention of impeding the public business than any other person, but hoped gentlemen would consider that many of the papers and accounts called for were not yet furnished; that it was a disagreeable kind of business, and few gentlemen cared to attend, though it was a matter of great national moment, for the accounts ought to be thoroughly investigated, and not to be merely read, without examining them, and upon doubts arising and explanations being given, proper time should be allowed for gentlemen to turn the subject in their thoughts; he therefore thought it time enough for the committee to sit on Monday next, in order to give time to consider and examine the accounts; and in his opinion the proposed hour of meeting was too early, as no gentleman attended at so early an hour; for, if that was agreed to, they might as well agree to sit at twelve o'clock at night; he therefore hoped it would not be insisted on.

The SPEAKER observed, that three o'clock would be too late an hour for the committee to meet, as he took the chair at half an hour after three, if there were forty members in the house; so that the committee would have but half an hour each day to go through the accounts.

It was then ordered that the committee do meet to-morrow at half past two o'clock in the afternoon.

A petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Kilkenny, signed by the sheriff of the said county, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the damages which the said county hath sustained by the late floods,

and the peculiar disadvantages under which they labour, compel them to implore the aid of parliament; that the bridge of Thomastown, on the great road from Dublin to Waterford, and which was built by the bounty of Parliament, has been almost demolished, and that it will require a sum of about one thousand six hundred pounds to restore it; that two bridges on the river Nore have been demolished, and that several other bridges in different parts of the county have been either injured or destroyed, insomuch that to restore the bridges alone of the said county would require a sum exceeding seven thousand pounds, by the most moderate estimates; that besides the damages done to public property, the private losses have been considerable; that this calamity hath befallen the said county at a time when it is ill able to bear it; that being a country of tillage, it has suffered severely by the wetness of the season, which has made the saving of the last harvest peculiarly difficult and expensive, and that the wheat in many parts of it is not yet sown; that by the establishment of a police they undergo a new expence of one thousand six hundred pounds annually; that under all these circumstances they are ready to submit to heavier county cesses than have ever been known amongst them, and to do their utmost to restore the public intercourse, an intercourse not more essential to their own agriculture than to the inhabitants of other counties who must pass through the said county, and to the commerce of the kingdom; but to do it without some assistance from Parliament would be utterly impossible: and therefore praying relief.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1788.

The committee of accounts sat, Serjeant Fitzgerald in the chair.

Mr. CORRY asked when that article in the Vice-Treasurer's paper, No. 3, which states, that 1041l. os. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. were paid to Colonel Vallancy, for having distinguished himself to his Majesty's entire satisfaction, by a laborious work by him performed.

He said, no man has more pleasure in any thing that contributes to his Majesty's satisfaction than I have; but this article has been so frequently stated in the public accounts, and always in the same terms, that I would wish to know when it is probable his Majesty's satisfaction will be compleat upon this head.

Mr. HAYES said the work alluded to was a military survey of Ireland—a work in which Colonel Vallancy had shewn prodigious ability. It was nearly compleat, so that the honourable gentleman might rest satisfied the expence would soon be at an end.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he was surprised the honourable gentleman could object to his Majesty's rewarding the labours of a deserving officer.

Mr. CORRY desired to know the meaning of the charge of 288*g*l. 11*s*. 4*d*. being the deficiency of wool licences paid to the Duke of Rutland.

Mr. CLEMENTS.—Wool licences produce one part of the stated emolument of the Lord Lieutenant, and whenever it happens that they do not amount to 400*l*. per ann. the law allows him to make up the deficiency. In the present case the wool licences produced but 111*l*. 8*s*. 8*d*. consequently the Lord Lieutenant's claim was 288*g*l. 11*s*. 4*d*. to make good the sum of 400*l*.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) desired an explanation of the charge of 2702*l*. 3*d*. 6*d*. paid to the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, and several officers in England and Ireland, for their services and attendance. What officers in England could be concerned in the preliminary affairs of Ireland?

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said part of the money went to the Speakers as their fees on several bills, the remainder to the law officers in England, the Attorney and Solicitor General, &c. and he was well informed, that those gentlemen would not read a bill till their fees were first paid.

Mr. CORRY said there was another very extraordinary charge of 200*l*. for a road in the county of Limerick: He could not, he said, conceive under what pretence the general stock of the public treasure should be lavished upon particular objects; he knew how easy it was for a minister, or a man who had the means of obliging a minister, to lavish money upon whatever might serve to gratify his own whim, and then by means of a king's letter throw the burthen upon the public shoulders; but he trusted that the profusion which the mode of issuing money by king's letters encouraged, would point out the necessity of changing the mode itself.

Mr. HATTON said he had viewed the road in question, and thought it a work of infinite utility, not only to the country through which it immediately leads, but to the commerce of the whole nation, as it shortens the way from Waterford to Cork a whole day's march; a circumstance of great consequence, especially since the intercourse between Waterford and Milford has been opened, and rendered regular by the establishment of packet-boats. But though the formation of the road might with the strictest justice have been charged to the nation at large, the coun-

ty of Waterford and the city of Waterford had taxed themselves to the utmost, and had not called upon the public at large till they had exerted their utmost efforts.

The Speaker having taken the chair,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was sorry to inform the House, that from the present situation of the country, he should be under the disagreeable necessity of making the usual annual motion, for restraining of parliamentary grants, which motion he should make to-morrow.

A petition of the governors and guardians of the Hospital for the Relief of Poor Lying-in Women in Dublin, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that petitioners are entrusted with the conduct of a charity, which destitute of any permanent fund, has long afforded constant and indiscriminate relief to the lower classes of inhabitants in this metropolis; that the petitioners have found in the last ten years the numbers admitted are doubled, and their most productive fund has decreased one half; that in aid of the assistance they had obtained for erecting public rooms (the profits of which are solely destined to support the hospital) they have actually advanced the sum of one thousand one hundred and ninety-five pounds one shilling and eight pence, to prevent the work from being injured, and are likewise liable to the balances remaining due to the different artificers, for work already executed, to the amount of one thousand one hundred and sixteen pounds, fifteen shillings and eleven pence half-penny; that from the uncommon influx of the poor in the month of March, 1787, (when a considerable proportion of the beds were occupied by two patients in each) the air became contaminated, several lives were unavoidably lost, and to check contagion, an immediate and effectual resort became necessary, which from the nature of the charity must be expensive, although conducted with the utmost œconomy; a debt to different artificers, to the amount of six hundred and eighty-three pounds, eight shillings and eight pence remains now due, which the petitioners are totally unable to discharge; that to prevent a similar misfortune, and to continue general relief, the petitioners have now modelled the residence of the house officers, and erected sixteen additional beds; that the foregoing articles make an amount of two thousand nine hundred and ninety-five pounds, six shillings and three pence half-penny, which being actually paid, (or value delivered) the petitioners hope will be thought to deserve immediate consideration; that the public are competent to judge whether this undertaking should be completed, for which the petitioners have annexed an estimate; but they beg leave humbly to represent that unless some annual bounty be extended to them, (in the manner of the other city charities) they will be

under an absolute necessity of restricting the number of patients, and contracting the good effects of this foundation; and therefore praying relief.

Mr. TRENCH said that he would not enlarge on the merits of the charity, but only mention, that the patients in 1775, had cost 1l. 18s. 4d. and in 1787, only 19s. 4d. each. That as the petition was not in print, he would state some paragraphs.

The prayer, he said, was to enable the trustees to discharge an advance which was due above twelve months, and to pay the balances due to different artificers for value delivered. He said it must appear to any one conversant in business, that if these two sums had been withheld, the whole must have been in ruins, unsatisfactory to the public, and unproductive to the charity. They also prayed, to discharge the expence of refitting their hospital, which a contagion in spring 1787 rendered unavoidable, where near twenty beds had two patients in each, and nine died in a few days. In this was included the charge of residence of officers, establishing sixteen new beds, (one fourth of the whole foundation) a dormitory and fixtures for six pupils, wash-houses, and many other matters, which the peculiar nature of the charity rendered expensive.

These three he thought the public were, in reason and justice, bound to make good.

The petition likewise prayed an additional annual income, as their patients were likely to encrease one-fourth. To that he said, on the accounts stated, a small balance only was due; and if private voluntary benefactions were regularly collected, and the public room succeeded, there would be ample revenue. He did not wish one shilling surplus, it would be perhaps the subject of jobbing.

The trustees also entreated a sufficiency to compleat their works, now in forwardness, by adding stairs, &c. and likewise to erect a waiting-hall for servants, which would be conducive of order and sobriety. The House, he said, would judge of the measures. It was indifferent to the conductors, who were heartily tired of the business. Some gentlemen, he said, might ask, why expences incurred on the opinion or caprice of an individual, should expect retribution from Parliament? Having anticipated a charge, he would add a reply. Every step that prudence could dictate had been taken. At the very foundation, the character, the first then in rank, and then conceived the first in power in the kingdom, was present. Under his special authority were the dimensions and materials determined—his private munificence more than defrayed every ornament that might now seem unnecessary or expensive. The circumstances of the preceding session, he said, were fresh in every gentleman's recollection. He should not recapitulate private discourse, which no one could con-

trovert; he would appeal to the recollection of some gentlemen, to whom a communication of what passed had been immediately made.

In fact, he considered the noble personage as personally interested in the business, and counted the measure as certain, though perhaps it might be remote. The whole process was, in some measure, intended to be complimentary. It was now, alas! become commemorative. Those, he said, who were the opposition of that day, who loved the man, but sometimes disapproved the measures, would not oppose him; and three little months should not have dismissed the affection of his friends!

He requested any gentleman who was averse to the petition—to rendering the winter residence and intercourse of society more agreeable—to assisting a deserving charity, without annually incumbering the public—or who was averse to marking respect to the memory of the founder, to rise and oppose it in its present stage, as from the present opinion of the House, Government might judge, if it was, or was not the wish of the public.

He said he was almost a stranger to the present Administration. He could not (in the ordinary acceptation of the word) have the most remote demands on them; yet he felt most strong, forcible, and he almost believed successful grounds of claims, founded solely on the known integrity of the public intentions, and in the conscious integrity of his own conduct.

He said the trustees, as honest men, must be just, before they can be bountiful; that the honest artificer, who expended his property and his labour, had a claim on a proportion of the slender pittance, and that the effects of the charity must instantly be restrained; that being himself perfectly independent, the proportion of loss that might fall on him, was of little consequence; that his objects were humane, and no one would dare to suppose they were interested.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Sir, it is a very painful duty of my situation, and very far from my desire to interfere between the generosity of the House and the wishes of the honourable gentleman, but the necessities of the country require that we should adhere inviolably to the principles we have laid down, of reducing the public expences to the narrowest limits possible. Sir, if we were to enter into every expence that had merit to recommend it, our extravagance would be followed by quick taxation, and the poor of the nation at large would in the present case be compelled to pay for the support of the poor in a particular district. The most meritorious charity we can perform is to suffer the poor inhabitants of Ireland, in as much as we can, to rest from taxation. It is the duty of Government to consider not only the propriety of any measure, but the ability of the nation to undertake it. We see our churches lying in ruins, our

bridges and other public works destroyed by floods and tempests—we see ourselves unable at the present moment to repair them, how then can any person complain if we refuse to grant money for less necessary objects? Neither can want of charity be imputed to us, for there is no nation that pays so large a portion of its wealth in charity.—The charities of Ireland do honour to its national character.

The honourable gentleman has admitted the injury that must necessarily result from discharging debts incurred by private persons, unfashioned by any vote of this House, or by any order of Government—now I do most solemnly assert, that it never was the intention of the last Government to sanction the debts mentioned by the honourable gentleman. I acted under the nobleman at the head of that Government; his communications were open, honest and sincere. I knew his sentiments upon the subject now in question, and though the munificence of his heart impelled him to bestow his private bounty upon it, he never had a thought of throwing such a burden on the public. This I say in honour to his memory, not as boasting of his confidence, though honourable indeed. I do not think his sentiments this year would have been different from those of last; certainly then he would not have laid those debts upon the public; but as it was not in his nature to resist any thing generous or charitable, from his private munificence every thing was to be expected. Being now upon the subject of retrenchments, I assert upon my honour, that it was the Duke of Rutland's determined resolution to restrain the public expences. This I assert, as I had it from himself, who was the very soul of honour.

Mr. TRENCH said in reply, that though in a former session the recorded sense of Parliament was with him, he did not wish to force that Government, even if it was in his power. No individual in the kingdom had given more unequivocal proofs of his personal attachment to the Duke of Rutland, or felt more reverence for his memory. As personal matters had been referred to, he said he was absolutely desired to find out some unexceptionable method of contriving the business in the last session;—he moved a return of waiting-carriages, (a return that perhaps would be more painful at the present) there was a sufficient amount; it was a concealment and fraud on the public; yet he fared worse than the jackal, for the lions of Government—the police swallowed it all.

He lamented the certain necessity of limiting the reception of patients, and appropriating part of the funds to the payment of debts; and that a charity he had so strenuously laboured to extend must now become contracted.

Mr. CORRY requested to be informed what had been done, or what was intended should be done, with the New Geneva.

Mr. SACKVILLE HAMILTON said that the lands had been set from year to year to the former tenants, who held at will; as to the buildings they were not disposed of.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—If the plan of education shall be carried forward in the manner it was intended, those buildings perhaps may be applied to some purpose subservient to that plan.

Mr. FITZHERBERT.—Or perhaps they may be appropriated to some purpose of manufacture; but certainly something will very shortly be done to apply them to the best advantage for the public.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) requested an explanation of the charge of 6000*l.* for repairing such barracks in the kingdom as may appear most necessary independent of the general scheme. This, he said, implied that there was some general scheme with which the House had been made acquainted; as an individual member, he possessed an utter ignorance of any such scheme, and wished to be informed.

Mr. CUFFE said he wished to give the honourable gentleman every degree of satisfaction in his power, but at present he was not ready to lay before the House the scheme alluded to; of this, however, he could assure him, that a scheme for the building and repair of barracks, by which from eight to ten thousand a year would be saved, was almost perfected; and in the mean time the sum of six thousand pounds had been applied to such barracks as more immediately called for repair.

Mr. BURGH said he thanked the right honourable gentleman; but though he had the fullest reliance on his word, could not take what he said as a sufficient answer; he therefore moved, "that the proper officer do lay before the House the particulars of the general scheme for building and repairing barracks, referred to in the Vice Treasurer's paper, No. 3."

Mr. FITZHERBERT said he feared the resolution proposed by the honourable gentleman would not go to procure the information he desired, as there was no officer who could lay the particulars of the scheme before the House; but he pledged himself, as soon as he could learn the particulars of it, he would come forward and lay it before the House; in the mean time he requested the honourable gentleman to withdraw his motion.

Mr. BURGH withdrew his motion.

A petition of Thomas Winder, Esq; secretary for the port department, to the commissioners of his Majesty's revenue, was

presented to the House and read; setting forth, that by an act passed in the nineteenth and twentieth years of his present Majesty, certain estates and effects of the late Sir Henry Cavendish, baronet, were vested in the chief commissioners of his Majesty's revenue of the kingdom of Ireland, in trust for the discharge of a debt to the crown by the said Sir Henry Cavendish, of which there remained unpaid the sum of forty two thousand five hundred and eighty nine pounds nine shillings and four pence farthing; that in consequence of the said parliamentary trust, the petitioner has been charged with the execution and dispatch of the necessary orders of the trustees for the completion thereof from its commencement, being now a period of seven years; that the House, in the twenty-fifth year of his Majesty's reign, were pleased to grant the petitioner the sum of five hundred pounds as a reward for the trouble by him taken in consequence of the trust so vested by Parliament in the commissioners of his Majesty's revenue for the recovery of the said debt; that the petitioner continues to perform the business under their direction for the further execution of this trust; the sum of thirty nine thousand nine hundred and five pounds five shillings and nine pence has been received in the whole on account of the said debt; that two thousand eight hundred and fifty two pounds eight shillings thereof have been applied to the payment of fines on the renewal of different leases of the lands which compose a part of the late Sir Henry Cavendish's said estates and effects, and a sum of two hundred and fifty six pounds eleven shillings and eleven pence halfpenny has been disbursed in law charges and other necessary expences in the progress of the business; that the sum of thirty six thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds eighteen shillings and three half-pence has been paid into his Majesty's treasury, and a sum of six hundred and seventy six pounds seven shillings and eight pence remains for the payment of further fines on the renewals, of the leases and for defraying the charges of law proceedings necessary for the recovery of the remainder of that debt; that in the former part of the execution of this trust several of the payments made into his Majesty's Treasury were in large sums produced from the sale of certain parts of the estates and effects of the said Sir Henry Cavendish, and from a considerable sum due to him, paid in at once and applied in part discharge of his debt to the Crown; but since the month of February, 1785, the payments made to the petitioner has been in small sums, as they arose from the rents only of certain parts of those lands, and having been transmitted to the petitioner by bills of exchange from time to time, induced a very considerable trouble in the receipt and charge on him until those remittances should amount to five hundred pounds, when the same was lodged by him in the Treasury in one payment; that he has with the utmost attention discharged this business; and as the execution of the said trust so

committed to the commissioners by Parliament has fallen upon the petitioner, in addition to the very weighty and constant laborious duties of his office as secretary, the petitioner humbly resorts to the wisdom and generosity of the House for such further compensation and reward as to them shall seem meet.

A petition of the cotton, and cotton and linen mixed, manufacturers of the city of Cork, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners, actuated by the spirit of emulation, are happy in communicating to the House the lively sense they entertain of the bounty granted them by Parliament, and are by no means insensible of the benefit of that sanction, which has already diffused the manifest extension and effects of industry amongst the different manufacturers of this kingdom; the petitioners, thus encouraged by the liberality of Parliament, are not only emulous in the pursuit, but also vigorous in their exertions, to manufacture the greater quantity of well wrought goods, by which means the markets become cheap, the sale quick and prosperous, and the petitioners enabled to live comfortably by the gradations of chearful industry; the great demand for, and consumption of, wool, cotton, indigo, and other raw materials of manufacture, are objects worthy of the notice of the Irish senate—they not only contribute to promote and advance the West India and Levant trade, but also enhance the wealth of the merchant, and excite the spirit of industry in the order of that community; the bounty of Parliament in this case has totally buried the name of bankrupt in oblivion, it has effectually banished that baneful appellation, and most undoubtedly has prevented the emigration of many workmen from the kingdom, who would have been dismissed from their employment, obliged to leave their families at home in distress, and seek for bread in distant countries, had the bounty been discontinued; the petitioners, therefore, humbly submit the propriety of their allegations to the House, stedfastly but humbly relying on the wisdom and benignity of Parliament for a continuance of this bounty, in such manner as to the wisdom of the House shall seem expedient.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1788.

A petition of John Edwards of Old Court, in the county of Wicklow, Esq; was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioner some time since embarked in the manufacture of woollen cloths, of wool the growth of this kingdom; that the earnest object of his pursuit was by every possible exertion to attain to that degree of perfection for which England is so remarkable; that the petitioner observed with concern, that

nearly our whole consumption of that finer species of narrow cloths, called forests, is constantly supplied by England, and that we are totally unequal to meet them even in our own markets either in quality or price, notwithstanding the duty and charges of importation, which operate as a protection of consequence in our favour, as they amount to upwards of eight pence per yard upon a cloth of four or five shillings value; that the petitioner conceiving this art very attainable by proper and well directed exertions, has for some time past dedicated his whole time and study to the pursuit thereof, and has personally taken every method for information in those parts of England remarkable for the manufacture of forest cloths; and that he has in consequence made a most successful progress therein at his manufactory at Old Court in the county of Wicklow, eleven miles from Dublin; that the petitioner has made some very material improvements in the carding and other machines, and would wish by such like means to lessen the expence of the manufacture, an evil we much labour under, and also to settle a little colony of industrious families now ready to come over to him, but is restrained from carrying his purposes into execution by the want of a capital suitable to give energy to his endeavours; and therefore praying assistance.

A petition of the Corporation, or President and Assistants instituted for the Relief of the Poor, and for punishing vagabonds and sturdy beggars in the county of the city of Dublin, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the charitable institution of which the petitioners are the directors has operated with great and manifest advantage to the city and kingdom at large in several respects, particularly in affording immediate relief to helpless objects of every description, without laying them under a necessity of procuring any recommendations, so that in effect it is supplemental to every other charity; that from the 8th November, 1773, when the House of Industry was opened, to the 25th December, 1787, the number of persons received into the house amounted to thirty-five thousand four hundred and ninety-seven, and that there are in the house on this day one thousand eight hundred and forty-four; that the average number from the 25th December, 1786, to the 25th December, 1787, ~~was one thousand four hundred and ninety-four,~~ an average increased by the addition of a great number of persons sent in during the course of the year by the magistrates of the police, the expense of maintaining and cloathing whom (repairs, house-rent, officers salaries, and all contingencies included) amounted to ten thousand one hundred and twenty pounds fifteen shillings and six-pence, as by the schedule thereunto annexed appears; that on the 25th December, 1787, the balance in the hands of John Latouche, Esq; treasurer, was two hundred and forty-two pounds and five-pence; that the pre-

sent House of Industry is in so ruinous a condition, that the lives of the inhabitants are in imminent danger, and that its being utterly unfit for the purposes of properly separating, classing and confining the poor has prevented the petitioners from carrying so fully into effect the ends of their institution, particularly that of enforcing labour, as they humbly conceive they may, if enabled by Parliament to erect a new edifice upon an eligible plan; and therefore praying aid.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said that the petition now on the table was highly deserving the attention of the House; that the institution to which it prayed an aid was truly praise worthy, but that the House of Industry was at present in such a ruinous situation, that it would require at least 5000*l.* to repair it, and build an additional dormitory.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he could not approve of any extension of buildings for the reception of beggars. It would operate, he said, as a preventative to industry, and bring swarms of idle mendicants from every part of the country, to take up their abode in a comfortable residence in the metropolis, where they would be maintained at a very great public expence.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he was sorry that from the situation in which he stood, he found himself so often under a necessity of refusing the wishes of gentlemen; he admitted that the House of Industry was an exceeding good institution, but he would not consent to lavish the money of the nation in extending its buildings—he understood (though the governors had not thought proper to communicate with him) that for three months past advertisements had been published, calling on artists to furnish plans and estimates for extending the building, and that such plans and estimates had actually been laid before the governors, which, as he understood, amounted to 50,000*l.* a sum sufficient to build a palace for Monarchs instead of an asylum for beggars; but he depended on the wisdom of the House, which he trusted would not consent to lavish the nation's money in such extravagant benevolence; and therefore, to put an end to farther solicitation, he would move the House to resolve, “That no money be granted this session of Parliament for any pier, harbour, quay, canal, navigation, colliery, road, bridge, mill, mill-work, nor for building or rebuilding or repairing any particular church or cathedral, or for any hospital, charity or public institution (except colleges or schools) which has not usually and regularly received parliamentary support; nor to any individual manufacturer or company of manufacturers, nor in consideration of any buildings made or to be made by any manufacturer or set of manufacturers, unless where separate and distinct revenues are or shall be provided and appropriated thereto.

Mr. TRENCH said he rose with the greatest respect to the Administration of the day, and his motive was to prevent their plunging, through misinformation, into an act, in his opinion, of strong and flagrant injustice to the person who had carried on the new works at the Lying-in Hospital. He said, a general assertion did not always include particular circumstances; he considered himself as out of the question, and was satisfied to abide any personal inconvenience his effort to serve the public might occasion, but in justice to the artificers who had placed a confidence in him, he insisted on stating their situation.—Had the sums in question been withheld by that timid caution which would now appear prudence, the roof would not have been covered, the windows glazed, nor would any, even the most necessary accommodation have been procured.—From the great influx of the public, and the bad condition of the stairs, a second stair-case was necessary, workmen were now day and night employed thereon, yet this was a conduct the servants of the Crown had thought proper to censure.

He had in his hand a summons, which he said he read with much concern; it was for the governors to meet and consider of the necessity of limiting the admission of patients, and of appropriating part of their wretched fund to the discharge of just debts. He had determined to postpone his private claims, but common honesty required that the demands of tradesmen should be paid, though the consequence must be, that a number of poor women must be refused admittance.

The public, he said, were aware with what sedulous attention, foreign to his line and pursuits in life, he had for three years past applied himself to the advancement of the charity and extension of its works. He now took leave of the latter business; and though he should always, as a faithful trustee, take a proportionable share in the superintendence of the charity, he certainly never would again interfere as one of the committee for conducting the buildings. The gentlemen who were pleased to undertake the management of the public entertainments, were fully capable; the officers and servants of the hospital would obey their commands; but from the present moment, he in no ways considered himself as responsible to the public for their accommodation.—He concluded with declaring, that his personal respect to the present Government was such, that he would not move any amendment to the resolution.

Lord JOCELYN presented to the House, a list of pensions on the civil establishment on the 25th of January, 1788, viz.

Reverend James Verschoyle, Under Library-keeper, (from 19th February, 1779, during pleasure)

£.
30 — —

Representative of Charles Hooper and Philip Martin, (from 15th December, 1726, until 2000. be paid at one payment)	—	200 — —
David Mitchell, in trust for Mary Williams, alias West, daughter of Lord Chancellor West, (from 9th February, 1726, during pleasure)	—	400 — —
Reverend Soren Kildahl, minister of a congregation of German Protestants in Dublin, (from 12th April, 1786, during pleasure)	—	50 — —
Countess of Brandon, (from 11th November, 1742, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
William Sharman, Esq; in trust for Nicholas and Margaret Netterville, children of Luke Netterville, deceased (from 18th July, 1744, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Representative of Sir Standish Hartstongue, in trust for the children of Price Hartstongue, deceased (from 30th August, 1744, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Representative of Arthur Dawson, in trust for the children of Henry Hamilton, deceased (from 30th August, 1744, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Dublin Society, (from 26th March, 1746, during pleasure)	—	500 — —
Anne Palmer, now Finch, to her and Edward Finch, her husband, for their lives (from 29th July, 1746)	—	800 — —
Addition	—	200 — —
Representative of the Right Honourable Nathaniel Clements, in trust for the children of John Clements, deceased (from 7th August, 1746, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Peter Carnac, (from 21st February, 1748, during pleasure)	—	36 10 —
Isaac Carnac, (from 21st February, 1748, during pleasure)	—	36 10 —
Sarah de la Poir, (from 12th April, 1750, during pleasure)	—	36 10 —
Charlotte de la Bouchetier, (from 12th April, 1750, during pleasure)	—	54 15 —
Christian Shroder, (from 15th December, 1750, during pleasure)	—	1000 — —
Addition, (from 1st May, 1767, during pleasure)	—	1000 — —
Representative of Alderman Hans Bailie, in Dublin, in trust for the widow and children of Richard Annesley, clerk, deceased (from 6th April, 1753, during pleasure)	—	150 — —

Henrietta Haffard, in trust for the children of the late David Chaigneau, Esq; deceased (from 24th October, 1763, during pleasure)	—	£.	150	—	—
Right Honourable Lady Anne Daly, (from 6th April, 1753, during pleasure)	—		100	—	—
Elizabeth Pain, (from 6th April, 1753, during pleasure)	—		30	—	—
Mary Hamilton, and Anne and Mary, her daughters, and survivors (from 21st February, 1755, during pleasure)	—		150	—	—
Marianne de Avessein, (from 21st February, 1755, during pleasure)	—		18	5	—
Margaret Therond, (from 21st February, 1755, during pleasure)	—		63	17	6
Executors of Charles Usher, in trust for Harriet Molefworth, (from 15th January, 1756, during life)	—		70	—	—
Louisa Ponsonby, (from 15th January, 1756, during life)	—		70	—	—
Elizabeth Molefworth, (from 15th January, 1756, during life)	—		70	—	—
Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenberg, (from 31st August, 1758, during life)	—		2000	—	—
Addition, (from 19th June, 1767, during pleasure)	—		2000	—	—
Second addition, (from 17th November, 1778, for 31 years, from 10th October, 1778,			1200	—	—
George Boyd, Esq; assignee of the representative of Bellingham Boyle, (from 16th September, 1758, 31 years, from Midsummer, 1758)	—		800	—	—
Lady Clifden, (from 14th August, 1758, during pleasure)	—		150	—	—
Representative of Lord Hawke, (from 7th March, 1760, during the life of Martin Bladen Hawke)	—		2000	—	—
Charles, Viscount Ranelagh (from 22d July, 1760, during pleasure)	—		300	—	—
Addition, (from 10th October, 1764, during pleasure)	—		100	—	—
Representative of Amalie Sophie Marianne, Countess of Yarmouth, (from 18th August, 1760, 31 years from Midsummer, 1760,			4000	—	—
Representative of William Chaigneau, Esq; assignee of John Calcraft, Esq; assignee of James, Lord Tyrawley, (from 8th January, 1761, 31 years from 29th November, 1760)			500	—	—

Martha, Lady Beauclerk, widow of Lord Henry Beauclerk, in trust for her daughters, (established 1761, during pleasure)	£.	
Mrs. Macartney, (established 1761, during pleasure)	400	— —
Representative of Princess Amalie, (from 25th June, 1761, 31 years from 21st May, 1761)	200	— —
Representative of Thomas Cumming, Gent. (from 18th January, 1762, 31 years from 18th November, 1761)	1000	— —
John Stear, assignee of Philip Francis, (from 10th November, 1762, 31 years from 16th September, 1762)	500	— —
Penelope Victor, (from 19th April, 1763, during pleasure)	600	— —
Richard Lawless, Esq; assignee of Robert Birch, Esq; assignee of Charles O'Hara, Esq; (from 11th June, 1763, 31 years from Lady-day, 1763)	100	— —
William Green, Esq; (from 20th April, 1763, during pleasure)	200	— —
Representative of George Cockburn, Esq; assignee of Thomas Monck, Esq; assignee of Henry Mitchell, Esq; assignee of Dudley Cosby, Esq; (from 31st May, 1763, 31 years from Lady-day, 1763)	50	— —
Executors of the Earl of Blessington, in trust for Harriet Moleworth, (from 17th May, 1763, during pleasure)	150	— —
Louisa Ponsonby, (from 17th May, 1763, during pleasure)	130	— —
Elizabeth Moleworth, (from 17th May, 1763, during pleasure)	130	— —
George Charles, Esq; (from 15th July, 1763, 31 years from Lady-day, 1763)	130	— —
Executors of the Duke of Bedford, in trust for Louisa Fitzpatrick, (from 26th August, 1763, during life)	1000	— —
Richard Fitzpatrick, from 26th August, 1763, during life)	100	— —
Harriet Vernon, (from 26th August, 1763, during life)	100	— —
Caroline Vernon, (from 26th August, 1763, during life)	100	— —
Elizabeth Vernon, (from 26th August, 1763, during life)	100	— —
Representative of William Chaigneau, Esq; assignee of Edward Welton, Esq; (from 26th		

August, 1763, 31 years from Midsummer, 1763)	—	—	£.
John, Earl of Sandwich, and George Grenville, Esq; in trust for the Princess Augusta, (from 29th March, 1764, during life)	—	—	500 — —
Charles, Duke of Richmond, in trust for Lady Louisa Mary Lenox, wife of Lord George Henry Lenox, (from 24th May, 1764, during pleasure)	—	—	5000 — —
Representative of Philip, Viscount Strangford, in trust for his two daughters, (from 28th September, 1764, during pleasure)	—	—	500 — —
Laurence Broderick, clerk, in trust for Mrs. Catherine Bathurst, (from 3d December, 1764, during pleasure)	—	—	250 — —
Elizabeth Mordaunt, (from 15th March, 1765, during pleasure)	—	—	400 — —
George Whitelocke, (from 1st June, 1765, during pleasure)	—	—	450 — —
Eleonora Symmer, (from 1st June, 1765, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —
Duke of Gloucester, (from 1st May, 1767, during pleasure)	—	—	100 — —
Duke of Cumberland, (from 1st May, 1767, during pleasure)	—	—	3000 — —
Elizabeth Harrison, (from 26th April, 1768, during pleasure)	—	—	3000 — —
Anna Helena Heatley, (from 26th April, 1768, during pleasure)	—	—	50 — —
Barbara Wight, alias Mitchell, widow, and Frances Mitchell, spinster (from 25th June, 1768, during pleasure)	—	—	50 — —
Vinchon Desvoeux, minister of the French church at Portarlington, (from 25th June, 1768, during pleasure)	—	—	50 — —
Mary Hufsey, widow (from 29th June, 1768, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —
Thomas Gough, Esq; (from 7th November, 1766, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —
Representative of Jeremiah Dyson, (from 23d February, 1770, lives of his three sons, Jeremiah, George and Henry, and survivors)	—	—	1000 — —
Peter Gervais, (from 21st March, 1770, during pleasure)	—	—	91 5 —
Joshua, Viscount Allen (from 26th April, 1770, during pleasure)	—	—	600 — —
Catharine Skeffington, (from 9th June, 1770, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —

Anna Maria Hewitt, (from 9th June, 1770, during pleasure)	£.	300 — —
Lady Conyngham, (from 9th June, 1770, during pleasure)	— —	600 — —
Elizabeth Biddle, (from 1st November, 1770, during pleasure)	— —	150 — —
Mary Eliza Vallancey, (from 17th December, 1770, during pleasure)	— —	75 — —
Frances Preston Vallancey, (from 17th December, 1770, during pleasure)	— —	75 — —
Letitia Preston Vallancey, (from 17th December, 1770, during pleasure)	— —	75 — —
Elizabeth Vallancey, (from 17th December, 1770, during pleasure)	— —	75 — —
Hector Munro, (from 9th January, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	100 — —
Ann Scanlan, wife of John Scanlan, for her sole and separate use, (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	100 — —
John Swan, in trust for Maria Swan, (from 31st October 1771, during pleasure)	— —	50 — —
George Dunbar, Esq; (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	300 — —
John Milbanke, Esq; (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	1070 — —
Hugh Valence Jones, Esq; (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	1070 — —
John Pennefather, (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	30 — —
William Pennefather, (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	30 — —
Mary Pennefather, (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	30 — —
Charity Pennefather, from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	30 — —
Catherine Pennefather, (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	30 — —
Margaret Pennefather, (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	30 — —
Cosby Nesbitt, Esq; (from 31st October, 1771, during pleasure)	— —	300 — —
Addition, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— —	200 — —
Lucy Villeneuve, (from 27th March, 1772, during pleasure)	— —	100 — —
Robert Adair, in trust for his children, Robert, Diana, and Elizabeth Adair, (from 24th June, 1772, during pleasure)	— —	500 — —
Henry Meredyth, Gent. (from 22d October, 1772, during pleasure)	— —	500 — —

Elizabeth Reynolds, (from 22d October, 1772, during pleasure)	£.	200 — —
Anne Moore, (from 22d October, 1772, during pleasure)	— — —	100 — —
Jane Gordon, spinster, (from 22d October, 1772, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Harriet Gordon, spinster, (from 22d October, 1772, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Charles Tottenham, Esq; (from 1st December, 1773, during pleasure)	— — —	600 — —
William Montgomery, Esq; (from 1st December, 1773, during pleasure)	— — —	600 — —
Sir Skeffington Smith, Bart, (from 11th February, 1774, during pleasure)	— — —	500 — —
Edward Crosby, Esq; in trust for Sir Edward Crosby, Bart. (from 21st April, 1774, during pleasure)	— — —	150 — —
Richard Crosby, Esq; (from 21st April, 1774, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Mary Crosby, (from 21st April, 1774, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Dorothy Crosby, (from 21st April, 1774, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Carey Caroline Lill, (from 24th November, 1774, during pleasure)	— — —	300 — —
Margaret Butler, (from 24th November, 1774, during pleasure)	— — —	150 — —
Addition, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
John Larpent, Esq; (from 2d June, 1775, during pleasure)	— — —	450 — —
Elizabeth Sneyd, senior, and her daughter Elizabeth Sneyd, the younger, and survivor, (from 22d January, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	500 — —
John Wynne, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	100 — —
Robert Hellen, and Dorothy his wife, and survivor, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	100 — —
Thomas, Earl of Howth, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	500 — —
Catherine Fitzgerald, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	400 — —
Thomas Coghlan, Esq; (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	300 — —
Addition, (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	— — —	350 — —
Philippa Smith, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	— — —	125 — —

Elizabeth Delemain, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)	£.	75	—	—
George, Earl of Belvedere, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		800	—	—
Richard Malone, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		200	—	—
Connell Vereker, from (7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		150	—	—
Edward Bulkeley, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		250	—	—
Addition, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)		250	—	—
John Swan, Esq; (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		200	—	—
Thomas Hackett, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		300	—	—
Edward Smith, Esq; (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		300	—	—
Sarah Norman, widow, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Jacob Downing Pickford, Esq; (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		250	—	—
George Mecham, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		36	—	—
Charlotte Lill, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Bridget Porter, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		50	—	—
John Staples, Esq; (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		600	—	—
Elizabeth Fauquiere, (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		200	—	—
John Damer, Esq; (from 7th June, 1776, during pleasure)		500	—	—
Marcella Marshall, (from 7th August, 1776, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Margaret Mitchell, (from 7th August, 1776, during pleasure)		250	—	—
Teresa Booker, (from 26th November, 1776, during pleasure)		50	—	—
Catherine Robinson, (from 26th Novemer, 1776, during pleasure)		50	—	—
Edward Coke, Esq; (from 10th December, 1776, during pleasure)		50	—	—
Robert Barry, Esq; (from 10th December, 1776, during pleasure)		200	—	—
John, Lord Baron Kinfale, (from 21st January, 1777, during pleasure)		400	—	—

Addition, (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	—	—	£.
			200 — —
Lord Earlsfort, assignee of Sir Nicholas Lawless, assignee of Edward Moore, (from 25th March, 1777, for 30 years from Lady-day, 1776, Addition,	—	—	1000 — —
			700 — —
Juliana Howe, (from 30th April, 1778, during life)	—	—	750 — —
Anna Sufanna Ethelreda Draper, (from 7th December, 1778, during pleasure)	—	—	150 — —
Albert Nesbitt, clerk, (from 20th August, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	1000 — —
John, Lord Mayo, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	1033 — —
Edward Tighe, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	400 — —
Isabella Frances Francis, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	150 — —
Richard, Earl of Cavan, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	300 — —
James Young, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	300 — —
Francis Bernard Beamish, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	300 — —
James Canique Ponsonby, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	400 — —
Addition, (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —
Ponsonby Tottenham, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure,	—	—	300 — —
James Somerville, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	300 — —
Robert Sibthorpe, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —
John Evans, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	120 — —
Richard Jones, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	400 — —
Robert Gamble, Esq; (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	500 — —
George Gamble, Esq; in trust, to pay thereout 100l. a year to Sarah Norman, widow, his sister, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	300 — —
Edward Sterling, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —
Henry Meredyth, Esq; in trust for Letitia Meredyth and Judith Woodward, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	—	—	200 — —

Mary Coote, (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	— — —	£.
Sir John Hasler, Knight, and Sarah Hasler, his daughter, and survivor (from 20th December, 1780, during pleasure)	— — —	400 — —
Edward Storey, clerk, in trust for Catharine Hannah Sneyd, (from 19th February, 1781, during pleasure)	— — —	150 — —
Henry Grove, Esq; (from 11th April, 1781, during pleasure)	— — —	300 — —
Lord Rodney, (from 7th April, 1781, during life)	— — —	100 — —
After his death, there is granted of said pension, during their lives, to		2000 — —
George Rodney, Esq;	— — —	1000 — —
And to him in trust for Lady Rodney,		500 — —
John Rodney,	— — —	100 — —
Jane Rodney,	— — —	100 — —
Henrietta Rodney,	— — —	100 — —
Anne Rodney,	— — —	100 — —
Sarah Rodney,	— — —	100 — —
William Green, Esq; (from 18th July, 1781, during pleasure)	— — —	400 — —
Catherine and Anne Kennedy, and survivor (from 18th July, 1781, during pleasure)		100 — —
Robert Emmet, doctor of physick, in trust for Harriet Temple, (from 4th February, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Anne Temple, (from 4th February, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Mahetabel Temple, (from 4th February, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Harriet Temple, (from 4th February, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	50 — —
Gustavus Hume, Esq; in trust for Mary Burleigh, to support her four children, Richard Mayne Burleigh, Thomas Worsley Burleigh, Frances and Anne Burleigh, (from 4th February, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	100 — —
Robert French, Esq; in trust for Frances Newburgh, to support her three children, Arthur Robert, Frances and Mary Elizabeth, (from 4th February, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	200 — —
Elizabeth Dunkin, (from 4th February, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	120 — —
William, Viscount Chetwynd (from 25th June, 1782, during pleasure)	— — —	400 — —

Owen Salisbury Brereton, Esq; in trust for the sole and separate use of Susanna, Viscountess Chetwynd (from 25th June, 1782, during her coverture, and during pleasure)	—	400 — —
Right Honourable Henry Theophilus Clements, in trust for Henry, Lord Baron Aylmer, Lady Aylmer, his wife, and their children Matthew, Henry, Frederick, Whitworth and Rose Aylmer (from 24th February, 1783, during pleasure)	—	400 — —
William Lodge, clerk, (from 15th August, 1783, during life)	—	200 — —
Edwarda Lodge, widow, (from 15th August, 1783, during life)	—	100 — —
John Foster and Thomas Burgh, Esqrs. in trust for John Burgh, (from 19th December, 1783, during pleasure)	—	1000 — —
Elizabeth Burgh, (from 19th December, 1783, during pleasure)	—	300 — —
Catherine Burgh, (from 19th December, 1783, during pleasure)	—	250 — —
Mary Burgh, (from 19th December, 1783, during pleasure)	—	250 — —
Anne Burgh, (from 19th December, 1783, during life)	—	200 — —
Constantia Maria Wren, (from 6th February, 1784, during pleasure)	—	70 — —
Dame Mary Roche, (from 19th March, 1784, during pleasure)	—	200 — —
Arabella Hamilton, and Elizabeth, Mary and Isabella, her daughters, and survivors, (from 18th June, 1784, during pleasure)	—	500 — —
John Stephen Lewis de Joncourt, (from 30th October, 1784, during pleasure)	—	200 — —
Faithful Fortescue, Esq; (from 30th October, 1784, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Henry Harrison, (from 30th October, 1784, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
William Taylor, Gent. (from 2d December, 1784, during pleasure)	—	113 15 —
Edward Hamilton, Esq; in trust for Catherine, Mary, Anne, Elizabeth and Arabella Hamilton, daughters of the late Joshua Hamilton, and the survivor of them (from 19th March, 1785, during pleasure)	—	200 — —
James Anthony du Rouveray, Esq; (from 19th March, 1785, during pleasure)	—	300 — —

£.

Anne Copinger, (from 30th May, 1785, during pleasure)	£.		
Catherine Ridge, (from 5th October, 1785, during pleasure)	500	—	—
Sarah Ridge, (from 5th October, 1785, during pleasure)	33	6	8
Anne Ridge, (from 5th October, 1785, during pleasure)	33	6	8
Elizabeth Ogle, (from 16th August, 1785, during pleasure)	33	6	8
Jane Moore, (from 16th August, 1785, during pleasure)	800	—	—
Mrs. Elizabeth Bouchier, (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	200	—	—
Thomas, Earl of Westmeath (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	100	—	—
Sir James May, Bart. (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	800	—	—
John Newman, Esq; (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	400	—	—
Alderman Thomas Emerson, and Catherine his wife, and survivor (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	113	15	—
Anne Pringle and Mary Pringle, and survivor (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	150	—	—
Robert Jephson, and Jane his wife, and survivor (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	100	—	—
Frances Benson, and Mary her daughter, and survivor (from 12th October, 1785, during pleasure)	600	—	—
Sir Richard Johnston, Bart. (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	200	—	—
Sir William Godfrey, Bart. (from 25th November, 1785, during pleasure)	800	—	—
Thomas Trulock Bookey, (from 4th February, 1786, during pleasure)	300	—	—
William Trulock Bookey, (from 4th February, 1786, during pleasure)	40	—	—
Lord Viscount Pery, (from 11th May, 1786, during life)	40	—	—
William King, (from 6th September, 1786, during life)	3000	—	—
Robert Shaw, of Dublin, merchant (from 6th September, 1786, during the life of Robert Shaw, junior, his eldest son)	750	—	—
	800	—	—

Robert Shaw, of Dublin, merchant (from 6th September, 1786, during the life of Bernard Shaw, his second son)	—	£.
Robert Shaw, of Dublin, merchant (from 6th September, 1786, during the life of Mary Shaw, his eldest daughter)	—	700 — —
Edward Gleadowe, Esq; (from 18th August, 1786, during pleasure)	—	250 — —
Mary Ellis, (from 18th August, 1786, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Juliana Southwell, (from 18th August, 1786, during pleasure)	—	200 — —
James Ormsby and Jane his wife, and survivor (from 18th August, 1786, during pleasure)	—	200 — —
Sir John Stuart Hamilton, Bart. (from 18th August, 1786, during pleasure)	—	300 — —
Right Honourable Henry Theophilus Clements, in trust for John, Henry and Margaret Nesbitt, and survivor (from 18th August, 1786, during pleasure)	—	75 — —
Mary Roberts, (from 28th December, 1786, during pleasure)	—	150 — —
Elizabeth Barclay, (from 28th December, 1786, during pleasure)	—	80 — —
Florinda Ellifon, (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	200 — —
Catherine Kendell and Elizabeth Boffugue, and survivor (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	120 — —
Elizabeth Lambert, (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Anne Leland, widow (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Anne Leland, Mary Leland and Elizabeth Leland, and survivor (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Frances Arabella Kennedy, (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	100 — —
Frances Muschamp Johnston, (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	60 — —
Elizabeth North, widow (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	60 — —
Frances Rynd, (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	50 — —
Anne Hyland, Norman Hyland, Francis Hyland and Thomas Hyland, and survivor (from 9th January, 1787, during pleasure)	—	50 — —

Samuel Sneyd, Esq; (from 26th January, 1787, during pleasure)	£.	1000	—	—
John Norris Thompson, Esq; (from 26th January, 1787, during pleasure)		500	—	—
Honourable James Browne, (from 9th July, 1787, during pleasure)		1000	—	—
Thomas Higinbotham, Esq; (from 21st July, 1787, during the life of Robert Higinbotham)		640	—	—
Robert Ashworth, Esq; (from 18th April, 1787, during the life of Robert Ashworth, jun.)		1200	—	—
Robert Ashworth, Esq; (from 18th April, 1787, during the life of Henrietta Ashworth)		300	—	—
Robert Ashworth, Esq; (from 18th April, 1787, during the life of Frederick Ashworth)		300	—	—
Robert Ashworth, Esq; (from 18th April, 1787, during the life of Charles Ashworth)		200	—	—
Robert Shaw, of Dublin, merchant (from 21st July, 1787, during the life of Mary Shaw, his eldest daughter)		200	—	—
Robert Shaw, of Dublin, merchant (from 21st July, 1787, during the life of Elizabeth Shaw, his second daughter)		300	—	—
Honourable John Massey, (from 10th October, 1787, during pleasure)		400	—	—
Benjamin Houghton, Esq; (from 10th October, 1787, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Penelope Houghton, (from 10th October, 1787, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Joseph Rouviere, (from 10th October, 1787, during pleasure)		80	—	—
Anthony Tisdall, (from 10th October, 1787, during pleasure)		80	—	—
Sarah Smyth, (from 10th October, 1787, during pleasure)		40	—	—
Franklyn Kirby, Esq; (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)		200	—	—
Roger Bristowe, Esq; (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)		200	—	—
Bingham Burke, Esq; (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Robert Cooke, Esq; (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Mary Warren, (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)		100	—	—
Anne Warren, (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)		50	—	—

Sarah Warren, (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)	£.	50	—	—
Rebecca Warren, (from 16th October, 1787, during pleasure)		50	—	—
Right Honourable John Beresford, in trust for the six children of the late John Hamilton, Esq; (from 20th October, 1787, during pleasure)		500	—	—
Total	£.	96,289	2	6

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1788.

The House met, and several accounts, &c. were presented.

MONDAY, JANUARY 28, 1788.

A petition of the citizens of Limerick, whose names are therunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that former Parliaments have manifested their sense of the numerous advantages which must arise to this kingdom from making the river Shannon navigable, by having given many and large grants for that purpose; that a company was incorporated by charter, for opening part of the river Shannon, from the deep water above Killaloe, to the deep water below Limerick; that notwithstanding the expenditure of considerable sums, the property of said company, and large aids given them by Parliament, they are by some miscarriages, not unusual in works of such magnitude, now unable to compleat their contract, therefore the works which have suffered much, and in particular this winter, will fall into total ruin if not immediately attended to: The petitioners further state that the navigation on the upper part of the river Shannon, upon which such very large sums of the public money have been expended, and which is now in some degree of repair, can be of no use until the communication from thence to this city shall be opened, consequently the works thereon must fall to decay, to the vast detriment and loss of the kingdom in general, and of this city in particular; and therefore praying relief.

A petition of the company of undertakers for making the river Shannon navigable, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners, soon after they were incorporated, found insuperable difficulties in carrying on the navigation line, as laid out by commissioners appointed by Parliament before their incorporation; that the win-

ter after two locks were blown up, and a great part of the bank of the canal, near this city, was prostrated by the floods, which cost the petitioners some thousands in repairing the same; which fact, with many others, were set forth in their petition laid before the House in November, 1783, which petition was referred to a committee, and the allegations therein set forth were then fully proved by the petitioners; that the petitioners have expended of their private properties on said navigation works the sum of eight thousand five hundred and twenty pounds four shillings and two-pence, without ever receiving any dividend; and have also expended on said works the sum of fourteen thousand five hundred and forty three pounds four shillings and two pence, granted by Parliament, both which sums were accounted for upon oath before a committee of the House in the year 1783: The petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to the House, that a great part of said navigation between Limerick and Killaloe is in great forwardness, but not so as to form a communication with the different counties intended by Parliament; that the petitioners employed an able English engineer, who viewed said works, and reported that no less a sum than eleven thousand eight hundred and ninety six pounds five shillings, would complete said navigation works to the deep water above Killaloe; that the petitioners have been prevented from carrying on said works through inability to raise said sum, and that without the aid of Parliament that great and national undertaking must fall to ruin, but for further particulars beg leave to refer to former petitions laid before the House of the 17th of November, 1783, and 2d of February, 1785: The petitioners considering this navigation as a national object of the greatest importance to the trade of this kingdom, and as the petitioners would not wish to give the least interruption to so useful a work, they are therefore willing, if the House thinks fit, to relinquish all rights they have under their incorporation, on such terms as the House shall point out and think reasonable.

Mr CORRY gave notice that he would on Thursday, previous to the report being made from the committee of accounts make a motion relative to some matters of importance, and which he would do the ensuing day, but that an hon. member had something then to bring forward.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1788.

Mr. LOFTUS presented to the House a report of the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts, which is as follows:

A report upon the parliamentary accounts for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six having been delivered in the last session to the Chief Governor and to each House of Parliament, the Commissioners applied themselves as early as was compatible with the business which necessarily comes under their inspection in the course of every year, to the objects particularly pointed out by the Legislature in the special act passed in the last session, "*for directing the application of the funds granted by Parliament for promoting and carrying on inland navigations in this kingdom, and for the purposes therein mentioned.*"

Richard Baggs, Esq; secretary, and John Mitchell, Esq; accountant, to the said corporation having previously delivered in to the office all books, papers, &c. respecting the proceedings of the late Corporation then in their possession (as required by law) did on the thirty-first day of July last furnish the Commissioners with accounts and papers, declaring that they were as full and as perfect as the time limited by the special act and the books, papers, accounts, vouchers or other articles in their possession respectively, or in the possession of the said Corporation, enabled them to do.

Notwithstanding much time has been employed in diligently inspecting the accounts and papers delivered in by Mr. Mitchell, the Commissioners have deemed it expedient to defer reporting upon them for the present, further investigation being still necessary in accounts defective in materials and involved in much perplexity, in order that the public may derive all the advantage that the nature and peculiar circumstances of the case will admit.

The annual accounts of the following persons and bodies politic have been examined and passed by the Commissioners since the reports made by them in the last session, all of which having undergone the most minute investigation, appear to have been correctly stated, and were supported by proper vouchers; the balances due upon each of them respectively, either for or against the public, are as hereafter particularly mentioned, viz.

Wide Streets. Coal Duties.

The account of the Commissioners for making wide and convenient passages in the city of Dublin, upon the head of coal duties, from the 25th day of December 1785 to the 25th day of December 1786.

This body is authorised by law to borrow money, and their debt on the last-mentioned day amounts to 23,649l. 5s. 7d.

Wide Streets. King's Letter for 800l. 18s. 6½d.

The account of the same body for the sum of 800l. 18s. 6½d. granted by King's letter dated the 7th day of January 1784, for the purpose of purchasing ground eastward of the Parliament-house, to build thereupon such rooms as might be necessary to be added to the House of Lords.

This money has been laid out for the purpose for which it was granted, and it appears that there has been expended over and above the amount of the King's letter the sum of 103l. 18s. 8d.

Circular Road.

The balance in favour of the public upon the account of the Trustees of the Circular-road round Dublin, for one year ending the 26th day of November 1786, amounts to 3067l. 17s. 8d. in which is included a disallowance of 6l. made by the Commissioners in the year 1785, and of 79l. 0s. 1d. in the account of the last year.

Coal Yards, Dublin.

Upon the account of the Director of the public Coal-yards in Dublin, for one year ending the 25th day of December 1786, it appears that the balance due to the public on that day amounts to 1759l. 18s. 10d. of which 1688l. 5s. 9d. is the value of the coals remaining unsold in the several yards, and 71l. 13s. 1d. is cash in the hands of the Director.

Coal Yards, Cork.

There is a balance remaining in the hands of the Superintendent of the public Coal-yards at Cork, upon his account for one year ending the 25th day of December 1786, amounting to 762l. 0s. 8d. being the value of the coals remaining in the several yards on that day.

Lying-in Hospital. General Account.

The general account of the Governors of the Lying-in Hospital for one year ending the 31st day of December 1786.

Upon this account there is a balance in favour of the public of 254l. 0s. 5d.

Governors of the Lying-in Hospital. Rutland-square.

Upon the account of the receipts and disbursements of the last mentioned body for the buildings erecting contiguous to the Rotunda, from the 3d day of December 1786 to the 3d day of April 1787, it appears that after including in the charge-part of the account all the money received, as well as the value of such of the old materials as were sold, the Governors have expended the sum of 1698l. 9s. 5½d. over and above their receipts.

Hibernian Marine Nursery.

The account of the Governors of the Hibernian Marine Nursery for one year ending the 6th day of November 1786.

There is a balance in favour of the public of 5276l. 8s. 4½d. which includes a disallowance for interest on money advanced of 13l. 4s. 11d. made by the Commissioners in the account ending on the first day of November, 1784.

Hibernian Society for Soldiers Children.

The balance in favour of the public upon the account of the Governors of the Hibernian Society for soldiers children for one

year, ending the 25th day of December 1786, amounts to 522l. 18s. 11½d.

Foundling Hospital.

The account of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and Work-house, for one year ending the 25th day of December, 1786.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
It appears that this corporation are indebted in a gross sum of				9579	7	¾
Against which there are depending debts and arrears of taxes uncollected	7355	4	8			
Cash in the hands of the Treasurer	99	6	4			
					7454	11 0

There is therefore a deficiency of 2124 16 ¾ for the payment of which it does not appear that the Governors have any provision in their hands.

Dublin Society.

The Dublin Society upon their account for one year ending the 1st day of June, 1787, had a balance remaining in their hands of 5883l. 9s. 2½d.

House of Industry.

The balance due to the public by the Governors of the House of Industry, upon their account for one year, ending the 25th day of December 1786, amounts to 2358l. 11s. 3d.

In this balance the following particulars are included, viz :

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Outstanding debts				916	5	¾
Materials for labour				198	8	6½
Provisions in store				56	2	4
Disallowed by the commissioners in former accounts, being the interest on money advanced	272	18	9			
A like charge on the present account	65	14	4			
					338	13 1
						1509 9 3

Charter Schools.

Upon the account of the Incorporated Society for Protestant Charter Schools for one year, ending the 1st day of November, 1786, there is a balance in favour of the public of 2589l. 14s. 4½d. being cash in the hands of the treasurer and secretary.

North-West Fisheries.

The Commissioners in their last report to the Chief Governor and to Parliament, mentioned that on the 24th day of January last, the right honourable William Conyngham had delivered in to this office an account of part of the sum of 20,000*l.* granted by Parliament, in the year 1785, for the purpose of promoting the fisheries on the north west coast of this kingdom, and of the further sum of 20,000*l.* to be raised by mortgage on the lands of Mount Charles, &c. from the 25th day of March, 1785, to the 25th day of March, 1786, but that the Commissioners had not been able to enter upon the examination of the same.

This account has since been examined and passed; it is clearly and accurately stated, all the articles of the discharge are supported by proper vouchers; and it fully appeared that the works have been well executed, and at reasonable prices: the balance remaining unexpended of the 40,000*l.* amounts to 37,088*l.* 19*s.* 1½*d.*

Ballast Office, Belfast.

An act of Parliament having passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty, erecting a new Corporation for preserving and improving the port and harbour of Belfast, and requiring them once in every year to lay before the Commissioners "*a true and perfect account of all and every sum and sums of money which shall be received or levied in consequence thereof within the year immediately preceding the furnishing of such account, and how and in what particular manner the same shall have been applied,*" they accordingly presented under the seal of the Corporation an account commencing the 1st day of January, 1786, and ending 31st day of December following.

This account has been examined and passed; it is regularly stated and properly vouched; the balance in the hands of the Corporation appears to be 310*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

Ballast-Office, Dublin.

In the 26th year of the reign of his present Majesty an act was passed "*for promoting the trade of Dublin, by rendering its port and harbour more commodious.*" The Corporation erected thereby delivered in to this office an account of their receipts and expenditures from the 9th day of May, 1786, the day of their commencement, to the 29th day of September, 1787: this account went through the usual course of examination, and though deficient in some trifling forms, it appeared to be fairly and justly vouched both in charge and discharge; the balance in favour of the public amounts to 160*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*

The Ballast-master was called before the Commissioners, who pointed out to him the instances in which his account was informal, which he has promised to rectify in future.

Fifteen Thousand Pounds, granted at sundry times for building Courts and Law Offices.

Several grants, amounting in the whole to 15,000*l.* having been made by Parliament in the sessions of 1784, 1785, 1786, and 1787, to the Lord Chancellor and the Chief Judges towards erecting a new Four Courts and Law Offices, Mr. Gandon the architect delivered in an account of so much of the money as has been laid out for these purposes, from the 1st day of October, 1785, to the 27th day of October, 1787.

This account is correctly stated and properly vouched, and it appears that there is a balance unexpended of 1759*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*

Navigation Warrants unpaid, Ten Thousand Five Hundred Pounds.

In obedience to the act passed in the last session “*for directing the application of the funds granted by Parliament, for promoting and carrying on Inland Navigations in this kingdom, and for the purposes therein mentioned,*” Richard Baggs, Esq; late secretary to the said late Corporation and treasurer to the Local Commissioners of the Shannon and Barrow Navigations, did on the 31st day of July last, among other papers, deliver in to this office sundry accounts of the several sums of money expended in consequence of certain warrants issued by the late Corporation, which remained unpaid at the Treasury on the 25th day of March, 1787, and set forth in the schedule annexed to the said act.

The Commissioners keeping in view the directions contained in this act, by which their conduct was to be regulated respecting this particular business, proceeded to examine all these accounts as soon as they were laid before them for that purpose by the Auditors of Imprests; and after the most strict examination, on the 9th day of October last, granted the certificates directed by the act to the several holders of the said warrants, for the amount of the sums which they swore had been paid by them and to the accountant, in cases where it appeared that the sum fairly expended upon the work, exceeded the amount of the warrant.

In these accounts the public are not charged with more than legal interest on any sum advanced on the said warrants, and only from the time that the amount of the warrant was actually and *bonâ fide* begun to be expended until the day their certificate bore date.

The following statement of each warrant is drawn up in the same order in which it is numbered in the schedule.

No. I.

It appeared that the Royal Exchange Annuity Company were the holders of this warrant, for 2000*l.* issued on the 19th day of October, 1782, for the Shannon Navigation, and upon the examination of the account the Commissioners found that not

only the amount thereof had been fairly expended, but that a sum of 78l. 13s. 4½d. had also been laid out upon the work for which the warrant was granted, and that the holders were entitled to receive a further sum of 22l. 12s. 7d. as the interest of their principal sum from the 31st day of July last, to the 9th day of October following, the date of the certificate.

No. III.

The Right Honourable David La Touche and Company, were the holders of this warrant for 1500l. issued on the 16th day of February, 1783, for the Shannon Navigation: by the account it appeared that 1411l. 3s. 4½d. only was laid out, but the holders were entitled to a further sum of 16l. 19s. 5½d. for the interest subsequent to the 31st day of July last.

Upon this account the Commissioners disallowed a sum of 110l. charged as having been paid for flax seed, as it did not appear to them that such a claim was in any degree applicable either to promoting or carrying on an Inland Navigation: it is observable that this warrant is dated the 14th, though mentioned in the schedule as of the 16th day of February, 1783.

No. IV.

Of this warrant for 1000l. for the Shannon Navigation dated the 16th day of June 1783, the General Insurance Company against fire were the holders.

It appeared that the whole of this sum was laid out, and that there was an over-expenditure of 3l. 19s. 4d. the holders were also entitled to receive 11l. 6s. 3½d. more, being the interest from the 31st day of July to the 9th day of October last.

No. VI.

This warrant for 1000l. for the Barrow Navigation of the same date as the last was held by the Hibernian Annuity Company, upon the account whereof it appeared that over and above the amount of it there was expended a sum of 4l. 4s. 11½d. and the holders were entitled to receive 10l. 6s. 3½d. for interest, in like manner as for the foregoing: the Commissioners disallowed 1l. 2s 9d. paid to I. Dormer for salary, the same appearing to be a double charge.

No. VII.

Upon looking into the minutes of the late Corporation the Commissioners found that no warrant had been issued for any sum whatever on the 18th day of September 1783, as mentioned in the schedule, but it appeared that on the 10th of the same month there were two warrants issued for the Shannon Navigation, which the Commissioners are satisfied make up the 2000l. mentioned in the schedule as having been issued on the 18th day of September.

Thomas Higinbotham of the city of Dublin, Esq; was the holder of one of the said warrants, upon the account whereof it

appeared that 967l. 17s. 7d. of the same had been expended, and that the holder was entitled to receive 111 6s. 3½d. for interest subsequent to the 31st day of July last.

The other warrant dated the 10th day of September 1783 for 1000l. also for the Shannon navigation, was held by the General Insurance Company against fire, of the amount of which there have been expended 996l. 16s. 6d½. and the holders were entitled to receive for interest as aforesaid 111. 6s. 3½d.

The Commissioners have disallowed the charge of 6l. 1 6s. 6d. paid for entertainment for the Local Commissioners, 1l. 7s. 3d. paid for stripping bark, the public not having been credited for the value of the bark, and of 6l. 10s. and 5l. 13s. 9d. claimed by the pay-clerk for travelling expenses, the same not appearing to have been ordered by the Local Commissioners, as had been usual in similar cases: these disallowances amount in the whole to 20l. 7s. 6d.

No. VIII.

This warrant is upon the same footing with the two preceding ones, which are both included in No. VII. The late Corporation did not issue any warrant bearing date the 18th day of September 1783, but on the 10th day of the same month (the date of the two foregoing) they also issued another warrant for 1000l. for the navigation of the river Barrow.

The Royal Exchange Annuity Company were the holders of this warrant: by the account it appeared that the whole sum has been expended, and 170l. 11s. 8d. h. over; the holders were also entitled to receive 111. 6s. 3d. h. for the subsequent interest.

No. IX.

Though it appeared upon the face of the schedule annexed to the act of parliament as if the 2000l. set opposite to this number was contained in one warrant dated the 24th day of April 1784, yet upon examining the minutes of the late Corporation the Commissioners found that this sum of 2000l. was composed of four several warrants issued on that day for 500l. each, all of them for the Navigation of the river Shannon.

Two of these warrants, amounting to 1000l. were held by the Right Honourable Lord Chief Justice Carleton: the expenditure of the whole amount has been proved, as well as of 2l. 5s. 7½d. over, and the holder was entitled to receive for interest 111. 6s. 3dh.

Arthur Craven of the city of Dublin, Esq; was the holder of the other two warrants, the whole amount of which has also been expended, and also 129l. 13s. 7½d. in addition: Mr. Craven was likewise entitled to 111. 6s. 3½d. for interest.

Warrant for 2000l. never returned to Parliament.

Amongst the accounts and papers already mentioned to have been delivered in by Mr. Baggs on the 31st day of July 1787, in pursuance of the before recited act of Parliament, there

appeared an account of several sums expended in consequence of a warrant issued by the late corporation for 200*l.* for the navigation of the river Barrow, dated the 19th day of October 1782.

Though this warrant had not been reported to Parliament as one outstanding and unpaid, and of course was not included either in the body of the act of parliament or in the schedule annexed, yet the Commissioners finding by the minute books of the late Corporation that a warrant of the above tenor and date had actually been issued, thought it their duty to examine the account of the expenditure, by which it appears that there has been laid out in consequence of this warrant the sum of 199*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* in which is included a sum of 484*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* for legal interest thereon from the time it was actually begun to be expended to the 31st day of July last.

Robert Watfon Wade, of the city of Dublin, Esq; is the holder of this warrant, who declared upon oath that he paid the full amount of the above warrant to Richard Baggs, Esq; but as the Commissioners have not power to grant him any certificate, the account is not finally settled or passed, but remains in the account office subject to such directions as parliament may give.

Newry Navigation. William Ogle, Esq;

The Commissioners examined and passed the account of William Ogle, Esq; superintendent of the Newry Navigation, from the 25th day of March, 1786 to the 21st day of May, 1787, which is final between him and the late Corporation: it was certified by the Local Commissioners of the Newry Navigation, and delivered in to this office previous to the 1st day of August last: the account is correct and regularly vouched, and there is a balance in favour of the accountant of 247*l.* 7*s.* 9½*d.*

Mr. Baggs's account of incidents.

Mr. Baggs having produced an account of incidental expenses disbursed by him on account of the late Corporation between the 6th day of May, 1786, and the 31st day of July, 1787, the Commissioners examined and passed the same: it appeared that he had expended the sum of 136*l.* 3*s.* 1*hd.* but a balance of 93*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* upon a former account having remained in his hands, there is due to him upon this account a sum of 43*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.*

To this account is annexed a list of debts due by the Corporation at the time of their dissolution to their late officers, and for the rent of the Navigation House, amounting to 716*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*

*500*l.* granted to John Howard Kyan, Esq;*

In the session of Parliament which ended in 1784, the sum of 500*l.* was granted to John Howard Kyan, Esq; for the purpose of erecting a smelting-house and setting-mill on the lands of Crownbawn and Ballymurtagh; and in the session of 1786, an act passed by which he was enabled to erect the said works either

on the lands of Crownbawn or Ballymurtagh, and enlarging the time for his accounting before this office to the 1st day of May, 1787.

Mr. Kyan not having produced any account on that day, the Commissioners on the 15th day of the same month ordered a letter to be written to him, acquainting him "*that if he did not forthwith give in an account agreeably to the conditions of his recognizance, application should be made to the court of Exchequer to have the same estreated.*"

On the 8th day of June last the Commissioners received a letter from Mr. Kyan, dated in Dublin the 6th day of the same month, acknowledging the receipt of the one before recited, and informing them, "*that being under the necessity of leaving town that evening, to meet by appointment the agent of an English company with whom he had formed a connection in order to carry on his works in the county of Wicklow with vigour and extent, he therefore makes an apology to the Commissioners, and assures them that he will use every dispatch in his power to comply with their commands, and that he has no wish more at heart than to give them complete satisfaction;*" he adds, "*that the loss of his finger, and a variety of business, prevented him from sooner obeying their commands, and begs a little enlargement of time, and shall faithfully account.*" The Commissioners however not having any power to comply with his request, gave directions to their Solicitor to proceed against him and his securities, as prescribed by law, in consequence whereof a writ of *scire facias* has been issued against Mr. Kyan, which by their order was delivered on the 5th instant into the hands of the Sheriff of the county of Wicklow.

Accounts in the Auditors Office.

The following accounts are now in their progress through the office of the Auditors of Imprests; some are voluminous, and all of them were brought in too late to be audited, engrossed and duly examined, so as to be included in the present report, viz.

I. The account of the Trustees appointed by an act passed in the 25th year of his Majesty, entitled "*An act for granting the sum of 20,000l. 5000l. and 4000l. to certain trustees, and for promoting the several manufactures therein mentioned*"

II. Of the Directors and Commissioners for paving, lighting and cleansing the streets, &c. of the city of Dublin, for the year ending the 25th day of December, 1786.

III. Of the right honourable William Conyngham, for the north-west fisheries, from the 25th day of March, 1786, to the 25th day of December following.

IV. Of John Staples and James Caulfield, Esqrs. for the sum of 2000l. granted to them in the session of 1784, for building a steam engine at their collieries in the county of Tyrone.

V. Of the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1787.

VI. Of the Trustees of the Royal Exchange, to the 29th day of September last.

Accounts not delivered in.

The accounts of the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital for one year, to the 25th day of December, 1786: And of

The Commissioners for making wide streets, &c. 244l. 13s. 5d. being a balance unexpended of 15,000l. granted by King's letter, dated the 28th day of March, 1782, have not yet been brought in to this office.

Commissioners of First Fruits.

On the 23d day of February, 1787, a precept was issued from this office, directed to the Commissioners of First Fruits, requiring them to deliver in such accounts, orders of appropriation and certificates, as the law requires, for the expenditure of the several sums granted to them for building new churches, and rebuilding old ones in such parishes wherein no divine public service had been performed for twenty years past.

This precept was delivered to their secretary, Henry Upton, Esq; who certified to the Commissioners by letter, dated the 15th day of March, 1787, "*that the sums of 3000l. and 5000l. granted in the session of 1783 and 1785, were not received until the latter end of the year 1785, and there has not of course been time for the Bishops to have the works executed, so that the necessary certificates could not be prepared; and that the sum of 5000l. granted in the session of 1786, had not then been received.*"

Grants of Parliament not applied for.

For the following sums granted by Parliament in the session 1784, to the several persons and for the purposes under-mentioned application has not yet been made to the Commissioners.

£. s. d.

- | | |
|---|----------|
| I. To the Right Honourable John O'Neill, the Right Honourable Barry Yelverton, the Honourable Hercules Rowley, Charles Ruxton, Esq; Conway Richard Dobbs, Esq; and Ezekiel Davys Wilson, Mayor of Carrickfergus, to repair the quay of Carrickfergus, — | 500 — — |
| II. To the Right Honourable Lord Kilwarlin, Robert Rofs and George Hamilton, Esqrs. towards erecting a light-house on the South Rock, on the East coast of the county of Down — — — | 1400 — — |
| III. To Denis Bowes Daly and Anthony Daly, Esqrs. to be by them expended towards rendering the harbour of Galway more safe and commodious — — — | 1000 — — |

Cotton Works, Balbriggan.

By an act passed in the 25th year of his present Majesty, the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts, among other things, are required once at least in every year, for seven years, to enquire into the state of a cotton manufactory, established at Balbriggan, and whether Mr. Joseph Smith, the manufacturer, has performed certain conditions voluntarily entered into by him.

In obedience thereto the Commissioners, on the 31st day of January, 1787, made a report upon this subject; and in the course of last year, they directed Mr. Thomas Browne, junior, architect, to view the said works a second time, who reported that "*he found at work thirty-four machines, containing two thousand four hundred and seventy spindles, and one machine just ready to work with sixty-four spindles, making in the whole within this building, two thousand five hundred and thirty-four, besides twenty-three machines employed in carding and preparing cotton for the spindles: in a new building not finished when he was there in March, 1786, there are four hundred and sixty-eight spindles at work, and in other detached buildings, three thousand three hundred and seventy-eight spindles; these latter ones are moved by men; all these are a necessary appendage to the mill, so that at this day, it is the prime cause of moving six thousand three hundred and eighty spindles, besides a number of carding and other machines; that it was impossible for him to ascertain the exact number of persons employed by Mr. Smyth, but believes there may be at least four hundred: that the buildings are finished in a masterly manner, and the disposition of the different houses appears to him ingenious and well contrived; the whole is in good repair, and perfectly clean; the appearance of the place, of the people employed, and of their manners, must convince every observer that the whole is well regulated.*"

In the former reports it was judged expedient and necessary to state in particular terms the progress of each account, and it was the more necessary, as accountants had not then acquired that correct and succinct mode of stating which for some time past has been adopted.

But since the nature of this office is better understood by those to whom public money has been entrusted, the business of accounting is in a state of improvement, and most accounts are now brought forward in so regular a method as to render much observation unnecessary.

Account-office, January 29, 1788.

A LIST of accounts passed by the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts in the Year 1787, mentioned in the foregoing report, and delivered to the Clerk of the House of Commons on the 29th Day of January, 1788; together with an abstract of the balances or debts due upon them respectively.

No.	Account of the	Balances in the hands of Accountants.		Over-expended by Accountants.		Debts of Corporations.	
		£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
1	Commissioners for widening Streets, &c. to the 25th day of December, 1786	—	—	—	—	236	49 5 7
2	Ditto, for 800 l. 18 s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. granted by King's Letter	—	—	103	18 8	—	—
3	Fruitees of the Circular Road, to the 26th day of November 1786	3067	17 8	—	—	—	—
4	Director of the public Coal Yards in Dublin, to the 25th day of December, 1786	1759	18 10	—	—	—	—
5	Superintendent of the public Coal Yards at Cork, to the same time	762	— 8	—	—	—	—
6	Governors of the Lying-in Hospital (General) to the 31st day of December, 1786	254	— 5	—	—	—	—
7	Ditto, for the buildings erecting contiguous to the Rotunda, to the 3d day of April, 1787	—	—	1698	9 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
8	Hibernian Marine Society, to the 6th day of November, 1786	5276	8 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
9	Hibernian Society for Soldiers Children, to the 25th day of December, 1786	522	18 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—	—	—

A List of accounts passed by the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts in the Year 1787, continued.

No.	Account of the	Balances in the hands of Accountants.			Over-expended by Accountants.			Debts of Corporations.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
10	Governors of the Foundling-hospital, to the 25th day of December, 1786	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	Dublin Society, to the 1st day of June, 1787	588	9	2½	—	—	—	357	7	7½
12	Governors of the House of Industry, to the 25th day of December, 1786	235	11	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	Incorporated Society for Protestant Charter Schools, to the 1st day of November, 1786	258	14	4½	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	North West Fisheries, from the 25th day of March, 1785, to the 25th day of March, 1786	370	88	19	1½	—	—	—	—	—
15	Ballast-office at Belfast, from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December, 1786	310	4	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	Ballast-office in Dublin, from the 9th day of May, 1786, to the 29th day of September, 1787	160	1	11	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	New Courts and Law Offices, from the 1st day of October, 1785, to the 27th day of October, 1787	175	6	11	—	—	—	—	—	—

1788.]

D E B A T E S.

The following accounts of money expended in consequence of certain warrants issued by the late Navigation Board which remained unpaid on the 25th day of March, 1787, and which are specified in the schedule annexed to the special act of the last session, were also delivered to the Clerk of the House of Commons on the 29th day of January, 1788.

No.	No. of the warrant, per report.	Date of warrant.	Amount.	Certificates given to		Certificates given to	
				holders	for	Accountants	for
18	1	1782, Oct. 19,	£. s. d. 2000 — —	£. s. d. 2022 12 7	£. s. d. 78 13 7½	£. s. d. 170 11 8½	£. s. d. 129 13 7½
	3	1783, Feb. 14,	1500 — —	1428 2 9¼	— — —	2 5 7½	— — —
	4	June 16,	1000 — —	1011 6 3½	13 19 4	— — —	— — —
	6	Ditto, do.	1000 — —	1011 6 3½	14 4 1½	— — —	— — —
	7	Sept. 10.	1000 — —	979 3 10½	— — —	— — —	— — —
	8	Ditto, do.	1000 — —	1008 2 10	— — —	— — —	— — —
	9	Ditto, do.	1000 — —	1011 6 3½	— — —	— — —	— — —
	Four warrants for 500l. each.	1784, April 24,	1000 — —	1011 6 3½	— — —	— — —	— — —
		Ditto, do.	1000 — —	1011 6 3½	— — —	— — —	— — —
		Ditto, do.	1000 — —	1011 6 3½	— — —	— — —	— — —

The two following accounts were also delivered at the same time, viz.

	Of	Over-expended by Accountants.	Debt of Corpo- ration.
19 {	William Ogle, Esq; Superintendent of the Newry Navigation, to the 21st day of May, 1787,	£. s. d. 247 7 9½	£. s. d. — — —
20 {	Richard Baggs, Esq; for incidental charges disbursed by him on ac- count of the late Navigation Board, from the 6th day of June, 1786, to the 31st day of July, 1787, To which is annexed a list of debts due by the late Navigation Board at the time of their dissolution,	43 2 9½ — — —	— — — 716 1 1

A list of balances certified by the Right Honourable Henry Theophilus Clements to be now outstanding upon accounts which have been passed by the Commissioners under their patent, and included by them in this report in obedience to an order from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant bearing date the 7th day of January instant.

Balances.	£.	s.	d.
The late Stephen Moore, Esq; contractor for bread at Clonmel camp in 1778	284	4	1
Lieutenant-General Mocher, commander at Kinfale camp in 1778, part of 297l. 2s. —½d.	91	—	—
Sir John Irwine, late commander in chief, for the encampments in 1779, 1780 and 1781	3705	13	3
	4080	17	4

The late Stephen Moore, Esq; contractor for bread at Clonmel camp in 1778
Lieutenant-General Mocher, commander at Kinfale camp in 1778, part of 297l. 2s. —½d.
Sir John Irwine, late commander in chief, for the encampments in 1779, 1780 and 1781

A petition of the Governors of the Foundling-hospital and Work-house of the city of Dublin, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that on the 25th of December last there were supported by the charity five thousand one hundred and ninety-nine children, of which number five hundred and eighteen were in the hospital aged eight years and upwards, infants in the Foundling Nursery seventeen, and at nurse in the country four thousand six hundred and sixty-four; that the children of eight years and upwards are taught to read and write, employed in several useful manufactures and gardening, and are fully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; that on the 25th of December last there was a large debt due for provisions, clothing, house expences, materials for manufactures and nursery garden, and that there is also due to the right honourable David La Touche and Company the sum of one thousand and thirteen pounds sixteen shillings and two-pence (including interest) humanely advanced by them for the use of the charity, which together with the sum of four thousand nine hundred and eighty-two pounds twelve shillings and seven-pence three-farthings due for nursing foundling children, make the whole debt amount to the sum of nine thousand two hundred and seventy-four pounds four shillings and ten-pence farthing; the income of a small estate, and the tax outstanding upon houses in the city of Dublin, amounting in the whole to the sum of five thousand one hundred and thirty-six pounds and two-pence sterling (as appears by the return of the Supervisor of the Collectors books) being deducted from the above sum, will leave a debt of four thousand one hundred and thirty-eight pounds four shillings and eight-pence farthing, to discharge which the petitioners have no other means but the often experienced bounty and known humanity of the House; the petitioners beg leave to remark, that by an act of the last session the duties arising from hackney carriages and sedans, with the arrears due thereon, ceased from being a part of the fund for the support of foundling children on the 21st day of May last, such arrears then amounted to the sum of two thousand two hundred and fifty-two pounds twelve shillings and ten-pence three-farthings; and therefore praying relief.

A petition of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners find, with gratitude, the said society recommended from the throne by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to the protection of Parliament; that the petitioners humbly hope that the House will take the present state of the Protestant charter schools into consideration; that it will give the petitioners great satisfaction that a minute parliamentary enquiry

should be made into the funds, expences, and proceedings of the said society, and such regulation made with respect to their future conduct as Parliament shall judge proper; that from such enquiry the petitioners are persuaded the House will grant them such public aid as will enable them to support their several schools and nurseries upon a sure footing from this to the next session of Parliament; that the actual number of children in their schools and nurseries at last Michaelmas was one thousand six hundred and sixty; that the allowance for the diet of the children in the Dublin nursery and free schools near Dublin has long been three pence per day; that in consequence of the grant of the last session of Parliament the society has augmented the allowance for the diet of the children in all the other schools from two pence to two pence halfpenny per day, and of those in the other nurseries from two pence to two pence farthing a day; that the society has also been at an extraordinary expence during the last year for the clothing of the children; that the state of the income and expenditure of the society for the past year, and an estimate of expences necessary for the present year, are thereunto annexed, to which the petitioners beg leave to refer; and praying relief.

Mr. HAYES, (of Avondale) remarked upon the expence which would be incurred by the new buildings of the Courts of Justice, and which he said he understood would amount to the sum of 75,000*l*. He professed a very high opinion of the integrity and ability of the architect employed, but when such an immense sum was to be expended, he thought it but reasonable that the House should know something of the plans and elevations, and of the estimates of the intended buildings. He therefore moved, "that the proper officer do lay before the House an account of the particulars of the estimate, and also a plan and elevation of the new Courts of Justice, and offices thereto adjoining."

It was ordered.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he begged to call the attention of the House to a subject of the highest importance to the peace and prosperity of this kingdom, and which had been recommended in the strongest terms from the Throne—he meant the security of the established church. He reminded gentlemen, that in the last session he had introduced a bill to protect the rights of the clergy, which by force or fraud had been wrested from them. The principles of the bill were moderate in the extreme, for it only went to enforce compensation for what had been unjustly and violently withheld in the year 1786; that in consequence of this bill, and under its authority, the clergy had proceeded to recover their dues, and there were at present several causes in respect to the subject matter thereof pending in the Court of Chancery. He lamented that the tenderness and humanity of the legislature had

not had the desired effect; for though in the South violence and outrage had somewhat abated, yet the spirit of combination against the payment of tithes still continued to operate in the strongest manner; nay, he was well informed notices signed by Captain Right had been issued, enjoining all persons, under the severest penalties, not to take any tithes for the year 1787. He was also informed, that outrages against tithe-proctors were in some places still continued, that several of the established clergy had been obliged to abandon their habitations, and that one man had lately been murdered by the insurgents.

He observed, that if in 1787 a necessity existed for passing a bill to enforce compensation to the clergy for tithes withheld, the necessity was even stronger in the year 1788, as from the general prevalence of combination the clergy in the South were at this day almost reduced to beggary. He concluded with observing, that the present dispute was not between the clergy and the farmers, but between the legislature and a lawless rabble. He then moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to enable all ecclesiastical persons and bodies, rectors, vicars and curates, and impropriators, and those deriving by, from or under them, to recover a just compensation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1787, in the several counties and counties of cities therein mentioned, against such persons who were liable to the same; and to explain and amend an act made in the twenty-seventh year of his Majesty's reign, entitled "An act to enable all ecclesiastical persons and bodies, rectors, vicars and curates, and impropriators, and those deriving by, from or under them, to recover a just compensation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1786 in the several counties therein mentioned, against such persons who were liable to the same."

Mr. GRATTAN recalled to the memory of the House, the notice which last session he had given of his intention in the course of the present, to lay before the House a plan for the commutation of tithes and better maintenance of the clergy. He now gave notice that it was his determination, as soon as the public business relative to the accounts and supply should be dispatched, to enter immediately upon the subject of tithes, and he did not despair of being able to offer to the House a plan, perhaps not altogether perfect, but such as the wisdom of Parliament might easily mature into such a system as would give the clergy a more comfortable and more honourable support than they at present possess, without proving, in any degree, burdensome to the farmer, or cultivator of the land. He saw no difficulty in uniting the interests of the clergyman and farmer, and putting an end for ever to those dissensions, so injurious to both. At present he would not go farther into the subject, but he begged leave to suggest to the right hon. gentleman, that as the bill, by him now

about to be introduced, had reference to the subject of tithes, it would be right to defer the discussion of it, until that subject could be investigated upon an extensive ground, which, he apprehended, could not without inconvenience happen till after the public business had been gone through.

Mr PARSONS said no man could have a warmer disposition to support the clergy in an honourable manner than he, but he considered the act of last session, so far as it takes away the benefit of trial by jury, as a violation of Magna Charta; and, however highly he might respect the clergy, he was not at all disposed to sacrifice the constitution of the country to their advantage.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said whenever the right hon. gentleman [Mr. Grattan] should think proper to lay his bill before the House, he would be ready to pay it all the attention which the magnitude of the question, and the high character of the right hon. gentleman, justly merit. From his own knowledge of the right hon. gentleman, he was confident it could not be his intention to drive the clergy into difficulties; and therefore as the bill of the right hon. gentleman, and that which he was now desirous to introduce, had no manner of reference to each other, the right hon. gentleman's bill being for commutation, and his for compensation, he trusted the right hon. gentleman would permit him to proceed. He urged the danger of permitting the lower order of the people of another persuasion to trample on the rights of the clergy of the established church. He assured the House, that the poor deluded multitude had been so totally misinformed of the determinations of the legislature with regard to them, that they were convinced no law whatsoever had been made to compel the payment of tithes; he therefore submitted, whether any interruption given to the progress of the bill he was now to introduce, might not tend to confirm them in their delusion, and thereby produce the worst consequences?

As a proof of the moderation of the clergy in their demands, he instanced that in the bishoprics of Cork and Ross, no more tithe was now demanded than had been received thirty years ago, though every necessary of life had been nearly doubled in its price since that period.—He concluded by saying, as to the objection raised by the honourable gentleman [Mr. Parsons] upon the ground of constitution, it would be time enough to discuss that when the bill was introduced.

He then offered to present his bill.

Mr. GRATTAN wished he would postpone it till next week.

The SECRETARY OF STATE still urged the necessity there was for such a bill. He said it was his intention to have moved for it the very first day of the session.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) said that he was lately in that part of the country alluded to by the right honourable gentleman, and that he could assure gentlemen, though violences and outrages had in some degree diminished, yet combinations against the rights of the clergy still existed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he believed it was literally true, that combinations against the clergy did exist in the county of Cork, yet he was happy to inform the House, that in the county of Limerick all disturbances had subsided, and a perfect obedience to the laws had taken place.

The bill was now presented, and read a first time.

A petition of the Dublin Society for promoting husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners were by his late Majesty incorporated by the stile and title of the Dublin Society for promoting husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland, and were encouraged to carry into execution the ends of their said incorporation, by his Majesty's bounty of 500*l.* a year; the petitioners, in pursuance of the purposes of their institution, have for many years past expended the said sum, together with their own private subscriptions, and also several considerable grants from the House, in premiums for the improvement of agriculture in its various branches, and in promoting the introduction and perfection of such arts and manufactures as appeared most advantageous to the commerce and welfare of the people of Ireland; the petitioners therefore, encouraged by the success that has hitherto attended their endeavours for the public service, and fully satisfied of the generous disposition of the House to further every measure tending to the prosperity of the kingdom, pray for aid.

Mr. FORBES said, a report had gone abroad which had occasioned no small alarm, which was, that the principal Secretary to the late Lord Lieutenant, was rewarded for the many essential services he had rendered this kingdom during his stay here, with a pension on the civil establishment of this country, of no less than 2000*l.* a year; that this had now swelled the pension list to the enormous sum of 100,000*l.* which exceeded the English pension list by 5000*l.* He should therefore take the liberty of asking the right honourable gentleman, who now fills the office of Secretary, if the report be founded or not?

Mr. SECRETARY FITZHERBERT assured the honourable gentleman, it was impossible for him to say, whether it was or was not founded, as his Majesty's pleasure on that head was not known to him.

Mr. FORBES said he was not perfectly satisfied with the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had expressed himself. He reprobated in very severe terms, the measure of providing for almost every Lord Lieutenant's Secretary at the expence of this country. He said it was a most wanton profusion of the public money, and it was establishing a precedent extremely dangerous. He observed that the sum reported to be granted to the late Secretary, exceeded by 500*l.* yearly, what was ever granted to the most rapacious of his predecessors in office; and as he was not likely to get the information he looked for from the right honourable gentleman, he should, in order to relieve him from any embarrassment he might be under on the occasion, in the course of perhaps ten days, move for an address to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, requesting to know if any such grant had been made or not.

The House adjourned to Thursday.

After the House adjourned, the committee of accounts sat, Mr. Prime Serjeant Fitzgerald in the chair.

Mr. FORBES said that he entertained in common with every person in the House and nation, expectations, which he made no doubt were well founded, of the great reform in point of public expence, which was to be effected by the present Irish Administration, and that he considered it as the duty of every member of that House, to lend their utmost assistance to the minister, to enable him to attain to such a desirable object. He observed there were some articles of the public expenditure, which were extremely reprehensible, and if such gross misapplication of the public money passed without animadversion, and received the unanimous sanction of the House, the minister must attempt in vain to establish any system of retrenchment. He then adverted to the practice which had of late prevailed of providing houses for the servants of the Crown at the public expence; and after enumerating the different public officers, who had houses of that description, he remarked that there were very few of the members who sat on the Treasury-bench and its vicinity, the rents of whose houses were not charged in the public accounts. He said that some of the servants of the Crown were not content with houses in town, but also houses were provided for them in the country at the public expence, and adduced, as an instance, a charge for the rent of an house in the Park for the Under-secretary in the civil department, and another house beyond the Park, and detached from the Lord Lieutenant's, for the Under-secretary in the military department; and in answer to an observation that these measures were adopted in consequence of an address of the House, he proved by the words of that address, which only related to the accommodation of the family of the Chief Governor, that

houses in the country as well as in town for these two secretaries, could never have been in the contemplation of the House; and said, as in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant and his principal Secretary, the Under-secretaries are the only persons capable of transacting official business, it was absurd to suppose that the members who voted for this address, could either wish or intend that when the Lord Lieutenant and his principal Secretary left town, the Under-secretaries should leave town also. He added that this measure was an ingenious device of the late Administration, and an invention of a new instrument of patronage; but that in order to restrain the progress of this abuse, and to reprobate the principle of such a system, he should move, "that the practice should be discontinued."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that the honourable gentleman well knew that he had formerly taken the opinion of Parliament on this very resolution, and that Parliament had not disapproved the residence of certain officers being provided where their constant attendance was necessary; but the resolution of the honourable gentleman seemed to imply that all public officers were provided with habitations at the public charge, whereas in fact very few were, and those only of absolute necessity, known and approved by Parliament.—The honourable gentleman had mentioned the houses in the Park as an unnecessary expence, yet he well knew that they were purchased at the desire of Parliament, expressed in an address to the Lord Lieutenant; how then could Government be censured, or with what degree of consistency could the House now censure its own act?

The motion was negatived.

MR. FORBES called the attention of the committee to a new charge on the civil establishment, of an additional salary of 900*l.* per annum to the Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper. He mentioned that this office had been formerly held by a gentleman in England; that in order to induce that gentleman to resign in favour of a right honourable baronet, a member of that House, a pension of 640*l.* per annum was at first granted to that gentleman, who sold that pension to a clerk in a public office in this kingdom, whose son's life was inserted in the grant of that pension, therefore this arrangement has cost the country 1540*l.* per annum. This measure, he said, is usually stiled at the Castle, bringing employments home from England; this had proved very burdensome to the nation; for in this instance a person had got 640*l.* per annum pension for bring the Hanaper-office home; and another clerk in a public office and his family had got 1700*l.* pension, for bringing home the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. He said, though the measure was not salutary to the country, yet its native air had agreed very well with the office of Clerk of the Hanaper, as it had not been one week in Ireland

before it encreased in size double what it had been before. He expressed a great personal respect for the right honourable baronet, but observed that such an enormous encrease of salary was a measure in itself so reprehensible, must prove such a dangerous precedent, and operate as such a permanent charge, that he must enter his protest against it. He moved, "that this additional salary was an unnecessary charge."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said the right honourable baronet who was the subject of the present conversation, had devoted himself entirely to the duties of this very laborious and important office; he had undertaken to arrange and regulate the records deposited therein, which for more than fifty years had been in the utmost confusion; whether therefore upon this view of the business, the honourable gentleman would censure an officer before he had any experience of his ability and diligence, he submitted to his own wisdom.

This motion was also negatived.

Mr. FORBES desired that a list of the pensions granted since the last session of Parliament might be read. He then objected to a pension of 1000*l.* per annum to James Brown, Esq; the late Prime Serjeant, on the principle only of its being granted to a member of the House during pleasure. He professed a very sincere regard for Mr. Brown, and declared that as Mr. Brown was prevented by bad health from continuing in the office of Prime Serjeant, or succeeding to the bench, he should never have objected to this provision for the honourable member, if it had not been made in such a manner as to violate one of the essential principles of the constitution, and to affect most materially the independence of Parliament. The principle of his objection was so obvious, that it was scarce necessary to state it—it was highly inconsistent to argue, that though the House of Commons was invested by the constitution with a power of controuling the Crown, the Crown had a right to render that power of controul useless, by making the members of this House pensioners during its pleasure, and dependant on it for subsistence. He also remarked, that by the English act for further securing the liberties of the subject, it was provided, that after the accession of the present family to the throne, no pensioner during pleasure should sit or vote in the House of Commons. He said that the people of Ireland had a right to participate with the inhabitants of Great Britain, in all the benefits and privileges of that act, and the Bill of Rights. He moved, "that this pension was a misapplication of the revenue."

Mr. HARDY said that the idea of rewarding a faithful and deserving servant of the crown, not only met with his approbation but his applause. It was the best policy that any state could possibly adopt; and with regard to the learned and respectable gen-

tleman who was particularly involved in the present question, he admitted his claim to the favour of the Crown in its fullest extent : but he disapproved very much of the manner in which he was rewarded ; for it certainly was in every point of view as exceptionable as it could possibly be.—The learned gentleman receives, as a reward for his long and faithful services, what ? A pension during pleasure. That is, in other words, he is placed in a more strict and continued dependence upon the Crown, at the very time when he ought to be rendered totally independent of it. The learned gentleman, from his professional ability and his particular rank at the bar, had the justest claim to a judicial situation ; his infirmities obliged him to forego that situation, and then because he cannot be an independent judge, he is made a dependent member of Parliament. When, therefore, his honourable friend objected to this species of pension, his opposition was kindness, was tenderness to the learned gentleman, and considering it in that light, it was peculiarly fortunate that so far from any constitutional regards interfering with his personal good wishes for the learned gentleman, which was too often the case on questions of that sort ; on the contrary, they co-operated with each other in that instance, for acting as he did, from constitutional motives, he could not admit of a pension during pleasure being given to a member of Parliament ; and acting from personal considerations for the learned gentleman, his claims and situation, he could not admit of any pension for him which did not give him independence. He added some other observations, that such questions were not the most pleasant to be spoken to ; as to superficial observers, they always appeared harsh and invidious ; but no consideration of that sort should ever deter gentlemen from bringing them forward. He concluded with giving his vote for the motion.

This motion was negatived.

Mr. FORBES next objected to a pension of 640*l.* per annum to Thomas Higinbotham, for the life of Robert Higinbotham ; and said, that as none of the servants of the Crown could afford the House any information whatsoever as to the merits and services of Mr. Higinbotham, which entitled him to a pension so considerable, he should move, “ that the pension should be disallowed ;” adding, that he was astonished that so large a portion of the public money should be disposed of without the knowledge or privity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and that for such a transaction all the servants of the Crown should deny any responsibility.

This motion being also negatived.

Mr. FORBES next objected to a pension of 1200*l.* per annum to Robert Ashworth, for the life of his son, and also two other pensions of 300*l.* each, and one of 200*l.* to the same person for the

lives of his other children. He stated that a pension of 2000*l.* per annum had been granted in the year 1755, for the life of Frederick Robinson—that the family of Robinson had lately sold that pension to Mr. Ashworth, and had influence with Government sufficient to prevail on the minister to change the life in the grant, and to insert the lives of the young children of Mr. Ashworth in the place of Mr. Robinson; that this management was now become a frequent practice, and if not restrained, must tend to perpetuate the burdens on the establishment, and by this means a grant of a pension for life, would operate as a lease for lives, with a covenant for perpetual renewal. He therefore moved, “that the above pension was an improvident disposition of the revenue.” He then said that he should not trouble the committee any farther; but he could not refrain from expressing his concern, that measures in their nature so highly exceptionable, should receive the sanction of the new Administration.

This motion was negatived.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1788.

A petition of the manufacturers of sattinet, everlasting, callimanco, camblet, crape and stuffs, of the city of Dublin, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that petitioners have laboured under insupportable difficulties for the last twelve months, owing principally to the great rise on the materials of which their manufactures are composed; that petitioners find it impossible to meet the manufactures of Great Britain upon equal terms in this or any other market, the raw materials being considerably cheaper in that kingdom than in this; that the present bounty, though very inadequate to the rise on the raw materials, has enabled petitioners to continue a great number of their working people employed, which they must have otherwise discharged; that petitioners, with the greatest humility, beg leave, in addition to their own grievances, to represent to the House the distressed situation of more than half of the working people, who for want of employment are reduced to a degree of wretchedness beyond description: that petitioners, relying on the wisdom and humanity of the House, pray relief.

A petition of the merchants and traders, whose names are thereunto subscribed, associated under the name of the Greenland Fishery Company of Londonderry, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners having observed the very liberal encouragement granted by the House for the improvement of the fisheries of Ireland, and relying on their countenance and support to every attempt for extending the trade and commerce of this kingdom, did, in the month of November,

1785, form themselves into a company for the purpose of carrying on the Greenland whale fishery from the port of Londonderry; that for this purpose they purchased and fitted out the ship *Neptune* of 400 tons burden, at an expence of 6000*l.* and employed her in the Greenland fishery in the year 1786, where she caught three whales; that as there was no bounty granted by the Parliament of Ireland for ships employed in that trade, the petitioners were obliged to send the said ship *Neptune* to Liverpool to discharge the blubber and whale fins, in order to entitle them to receive the British bounty, and in returning from thence to this port she was lost in the bay of Ballycastle; that notwithstanding this loss the petitioners bought and fitted out another ship for the Greenland fishery, at nearly the same expence as the former, and employed her last season in that trade; that notwithstanding an act was passed in the last session of the Irish Parliament, granting a bounty to vessels employed in the Greenland fishery, yet the petitioners are unable to avail themselves of the benefits offered by that act, not having a refining house for whale oil, and therefore they must send their blubber to England to be refined, in consequence of which very considerable expence (consisting of freight, commission and insurance) is incurred, and the petitioners are thereby prevented from bringing their oil to market upon equal terms with the British merchant; that the petitioners humbly conceive that the carrying on the Greenland whale fishery from this kingdom is an object of national importance, and they entertain a well-founded hope that the House, as the guardians of the commerce and prosperity of Ireland, will grant such assistance as an undertaking so peculiarly circumstanced deserves; that as the petitioners are the first company who have attempted that trade from this kingdom, the expenses have been greatly increased by their being obliged to bring from England experienced artificers, officers, harpooners and seamen, and also all the materials necessary for carrying on the fishery, which extraordinary expence will be in a great measure saved to future adventurers; that in order to remove the inconveniencies which the petitioners labour under, and give permanence to their undertaking, it will be absolutely necessary to erect refining houses, &c. in this city, which, from an estimate they have received, will cost upwards of 3000*l.* and therefore praying relief.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE said he had not been in the House on the last day, when an honourable member whom he did not now see in his place, [Mr. Forbes] had made a motion respecting a pension of 1000*l.* a year, which an honourable relation of his now enjoyed; he should beg leave to explain the circumstances attending that transaction; for he should be exceedingly sorry that any of his family should be supported by the public money. He said that his honourable relation held a respect-

able and lucrative employment in the law department, but on account of his ill state of health, he was obliged to resign it, and the pension alluded to was granted to him as a retired public officer; he understood his honourable relation at the time the motion was made respecting him, was mentioned by the honourable member who made it, in a style somewhat flattering, but the praises of that honourable member were totally indifferent to his honourable relation.

Mr. CORRY said as his honourable friend [Mr. Forbes] was absent, he hoped it would not be deemed improper that he should say for him, he had no intention of throwing any injurious or unkind reflection upon the honourable gentleman's relation, but having, in a former session, pledged himself to the House, to watch over and scrutinize every addition to the pension list, it became his duty to notice that to the late Prime Serjeant,

As to what the honourable gentleman had said, that the praise bestowed upon his relation was no obligation, he thought very differently; he knew no man whose character would not receive additional value by the praise of his honourable friend, who was one of the worthiest men living—who never bestowed praise where he did not think it due, and who could not be forced to speak differently from what he thought, by the honourable gentleman or any of his relations.

The House adjourned, and the committee of accounts sat.

Mr. CORRY said he would take the liberty of asking a question or two concerning some charges which appear in the public accounts, and for which, though small in themselves, some reason ought to be assigned. One of these charges was 16l. to a William Parks, Esq; another was 112l. to Robert Watson Wade, for bringing up the balances of collectors; another of 150l. to another officer of the treasury for the like service.

Mr. CLEMENTS explained the two latter items, by observing, that oftentimes collectors of the public revenue detain in their hands considerable sums of money, while perhaps the necessities of the state for payment of the army, or other purposes, may press extremely for it. In such cases it is usual to send a confidential clerk of the Treasury to bring up the balance, who, for his trouble of traversing perhaps one fourth part of the kingdom, is allowed 25l. and his travelling expences, verified on affidavit. Such had been the fact in the two instances stated.

Mr. CORRY said he must next take notice of a very considerable sum indeed, charged by Mr. Kemmis, Crown Solicitor, for prosecutions, viz. 5270l. No very satisfactory information had been received on that head, nor could he help expressing his astonishment at the enormity of the law charges wherever they appear.

ed in the public accounts; indeed wherever the law could get its finger into the nation's purse, it generally tore so large a hole that a great quantity of the people's money ran out.

He also took notice of the accounts of the Commissioners of Barracks which had been just brought in, amounting to 27,439*l.* and which, he said, were now going to be passed without time for examination.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER—The sums total were called for, but not the particulars. Would the honourable gentleman have the papers presented that he did call for, and the papers he did not call for? If he has not called for the proper papers, he can blame none but himself; for no paper has been refused or delayed that was demanded.

As to the sums charged for law expences, they are undoubtedly very high; but the honourable gentleman well knows they are owing to the late unhappy state of the kingdom, which I hope will never return again; and gentlemen ought to recollect, that the Crown deserves praise rather than censure, for having restored the country to tranquillity by the intervention of the laws.

MR. CERRY said some words of apology for the trouble and delay he had given to the House, by calling for a vast number of papers; but even this delay, he said, might prove useful, as it gave time for gentlemen to reflect on the situation of the country, and his frequently descending into objects apparently of small moment might serve to shew the right honourable Secretary, that that House was jealous and watchful of the public money, and would eagerly support Government in a system of retrenchment. It might also serve to shew to him, who was used to measure expences upon the scale of a great and opulent country, that in this poor kingdom we are obliged to attend to matters comparatively of little value.

As he was, he said, ready to give praise to Government, where there was any true cause, he took this opportunity of declaring his satisfaction at some symptoms of œconomy which had appeared in their conduct in the last year. He would not have the arrogance to suppose that those who had the management of the finances had formed their conduct upon what he had delivered in that House; but most certainly some of the abuses he had censured had been in a great measure corrected. With respect to news printers, he had more than once taken the liberty of troubling the House, and had been curious to examine the public expences under that head. He found that in the year 1774, the sums charged for news printers (the Gazette included) was 217*l.* From that period there was an annual increase to 1785, in which year the charge was 4120*l.*—in 1786, it was 453*l.*—

but last year 1700l.—so that there is a saving of 2453l. Some of the particulars on which the saving had been made he named: One worthy proprietor of a news paper, whose income from Government in the former year was 650l. had last year been reduced to 304l.—another whose paper for some years past had been invincible, the Volunteer Evening Post, had from 1354l. been reduced to 800l. Another saving had, he observed, been made upon the charge under the head of Pursuivants at Arms; in 1786 that charge amounted to a very great sum—last year it had been reduced one half—yet, certainly, their duty had not been less;—on the contrary, from the tour made by the nobleman, whose death we all lament, it must have been greatly increased.

These savings, though not very great in themselves, certainly shewed some attention to œconomy; and proved, that if upon so very insignificant an article as news papers, a sum equal to the interest of 60,000l. at four per cent. could be saved, a very little care, supported by a strong desire of retrenchment, would enable Government to place this country in a flourishing situation indeed.

He said that having entered so far into the subject of retrenchment, he now begged leave to take a retrospective view of the expences and revenue of the nation for a few years past, beginning at 1783. He entered at large into the subject, and said that the expences of the nation from that period, to 1785 inclusive, exceeded her income from 122,000l. to 247,000l. per ann. In 1785 the gentleman (the present Speaker) who then managed the finance, and who in every situation acted for the honour and interest of this country, came down to Parliament, boldly looked the danger in the face, and obtained a resolution to prevent the accumulation of debt. He proposed new taxes to the amount of 140,000l.—an immediate loan of 150,000l. and a vote of 50,000l. to keep Government afloat till the taxes should operate. All which being granted, every man thought it impossible for any new debt to arise; yet the very next year it appeared that Government was 106,000l. behind hand. The revenues indeed had fallen while the bounties had increased; but this was no excuse; for if they had observed the revenue falling, they should have retrenched their expences, having received the new taxes on the special condition of avoiding the accumulation of debts.

In the last year the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated, that he was ready to accept the revenues of the nation for its expences, yet in that year Government had again been deceived. The exceeding of expence beyond revenue was 180,000l. the bounties and drawbacks still rising, and the revenue decreasing, though with an additional charge for management. He therefore desired gentlemen to consider to what this extravagance tended. Had it been the misfortune of the empire to have been involved in a war, how could this kingdom have

given that support which her inclination would prompt her to offer to her Sovereign? Would they have sent over the pension list, or plans and elevations of the palaces raised for Commissioners? Would this have satisfied him? Yet this is all that Ireland can shew for 140,000*l.* annual additional taxes. This, however, would not put arms in the hands, or cloaths upon the backs, of the men of Ireland, who would be ready to fight the battles of their Sovereign.

He had, he said, great respect for the present Government; he believed their intentions towards the country were most honourable; nor did he despair of the resources of the country itself, but he wished to support the good intentions of Government by the acts of that House, and to that end he wished to place upon the journals a resolution, founded on the report of the committee of accounts. He then moved the following resolution:—Resolved, *That it appears from the report of the committee of accounts, that in the year ending Lady Day, 1787, the expences of this nation have exceeded her revenues by the sum of 180,000*l.**

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I thank the honourable gentleman for the great delicacy he has shewn towards former administrations, whose acts, however, I am ready to defend, did not his extreme moderation render a defence unnecessary. I also thank him for his able statement; but I must take the trouble myself of stating the facts.

Sir, it is not by the expences of your Government, but by the growing prosperity of your country, by the increase of your agriculture, and the consequent increase of drawbacks and bounties, that your revenue is swallowed up; yet notwithstanding those drains upon your income, if no new tax is proposed, no new burden thrown upon the subject, they have reason to rejoice at their prosperous situation. The capital of your national debt has been reduced 100,000*l.*—the interest of a great part of the remainder has been reduced also. Formerly, and that not long since, you borrowed money at 7*l.* 10*s.* per cent. interest, now you pay 3*l.* 10*s.* Are these the marks of a declining state? No. Instead of looking with a gloomy aspect at the situation of the country, gentlemen ought to glory in their conduct, who have been instrumental in bringing it to its present state.

The honourable gentleman has said, that the expences of the country are rising: he knows as well as any man that her resources are rising in a much greater proportion. I shall, I trust, be able to shew to-morrow, in laying the state of the nation before this House, that it never was in such a flourishing condition. What, though our expences are increased by bounties given on corn and on manufactures. Is the honourable gentleman displeased at this? Formerly we were fed by corn from England and America, now we have not only abundance for our own

consumption, but great quantities for exportation. Are the persons, who by an excellent system of corn laws have brought about this change, to be condemned? or are the bounties by which it was promoted to be called profusion, and a waste of public treasure? The same argument applies equally to our manufactures; they have been promoted by bounties—they are now in a state of prosperity—they have cost the nation large sums, but will the honourable gentleman deny that the money was wisely applied; and though at first it may be considered as an heavy expence, that it is the purchase of future wealth?

The honourable gentleman has asserted that the revenue has fallen, and has blamed ministers for not foreseeing that fall and providing against it. Could the honourable gentleman have foreseen that the crops in the West Indies would have failed, and that on the single article of sugars the revenue would have fallen 40,000*l.* and that the importation of rum would have been reduced almost to nothing? yet these are the circumstances he blames ministers for not having foreseen.

The honourable gentleman has said that the expence of management has increased. 'Tis true, for when a new system of taxes was granted, it became necessary to have new officers to collect them; and I believe the number and expence of those officers will be found very small indeed, if the extent of their duty be for one moment considered.

To the causes of expence which I have mentioned, and which no friend of the country can disapprove, must be added the unforeseen expences occasioned by an insurrection in the kingdom. The expences incurred by prosecutions, special commissions, and sending a body of troops into the South upon that occasion. The very exceeding on the article of forage was 14,000*l.* We must also add expences incurred by the addresses of this House—compensation made to Mr. Talbot—building the Soldiers Infirmary, 8,800*l.* and a variety of other articles, all which are stated in the accounts, and have been examined and approved by the Committee; so that if these very heavy and very much unforeseen expences were to be deducted from the charge, it would be found that the estimates were not only sufficient, but that Government had actually lived 10,000*l.* within their income.

I shall now move the following amendment to the honourable gentleman's resolution:

*Which difference of increase principally arises from a diminution of gross revenue, by the increase of management, bounties and drawbacks, and from an accidental reduction in the import of sugar and rum, and from other causes not likely to recur again; and that Government has reduced its expences 10,000*l.* within that period.*

Mr. PARSONS entered into a comparative view of the taxes and resources of England, France and Ireland, deducing from the

whole, that the taxes of France, in proportion to her wealth, were one-third more than those of England, and the taxes of Ireland one-half. He desired to know for what the people of Ireland were so oppressed with taxes? or what rank did we aspire to amongst the nations of Europe?

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH.—I have read a great many books on taxation, and was I to give implicit credit to them, I should entertain opinions very different from the fact; for I know when I come to feel the taxes here and in England, my sensations are very different in the two countries; and this I mention, as I think every mite of information ought to be laid before the House. I have some property in England, and some property here. In England, when I receive my hundred pounds, I am immediately surrounded with such a swarm of tax gatherers, that very little of it indeed goes into my pocket. In Ireland, when I receive my hundred pounds, I pocket almost the whole. This inclines me to think, that the country where a man enjoys the greatest part of his property is not the most oppressed with taxes.

Let me now, by way of novelty, say a word to the question:—When a question is proposed in this House, one is apt to ask, *cui bono*, to what good does it lead? Now I own, I cannot see any very great use in the proposition, as originally made: however, I am always glad to see the most minute enquiry into the public expences: but I do not see how publishing a truism can be of any advantage to the nation, much less to the House itself. But if gentlemen will state more truth, and the whole truth, consequently the whole accounts, which are already in print upon your table, I have no objection. I shall now sit down, suggesting that it would be better the whole, both question and amendment, were withdrawn; for, what gentleman can with propriety vote upon them who has not closely investigated the accounts? and perhaps that is not ten of our whole number.

Mr. FORBES.—After the very great display of abilities, and the wonderful accuracy with which my honourable friend has gone through the investigation of the accounts, and by which he has demonstrated the truth of his propositions, I should do the subject great injustice did I trespass upon the House, by adding a single word of argument. I shall not, but merely move a further amendment in these words, to follow in the amendment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the word *rum*, and *from an increase of pensions on the civil and military establishments, and exceedings on concordatum, and from military and barrack extraordinaries, and from grants of pensions and salaries, on the revenue and from the expences of the*

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER rose to move a further amendment—*Which different articles have been audited and ex-*

*amined by the committee of accounts without any particular observation thereon, and which upon the whole form an expence of Government less by 10,000*l.* than that of the former year.*

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved a further amendment in these words—*All which appears much more fully and accurately in the report of the committee of accounts, than it can do in this resolution.*

Mr. FORBES followed with another amendment—*Though the particulars of the Barrack and Park expences were not laid before the House till after the committee of accounts was closed.*

Mr. CUFFE.—They were brought in as soon as they were called for. They are as full, as accurate, and as explicit as ever papers were. If gentlemen did not call for them in time, they are only to blame themselves.

Mr. FORBES said he had not the most distant thought of the throwing any blame on the right honourable gentleman. He acknowledged that the papers were not called for in time, but he observed, that the business of the committee was so hurried, that it was impossible to go through all the necessary documents.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that the committee of accounts had sat four days absolutely idle, in order to give gentlemen opportunity of bringing forward such subjects, or calling for such papers as they might think necessary; but that the honourable gentleman might not complain any more of precipitation, he would aid him with further delay, by moving the question of adjournment.

Mr. TIGHE said, he trusted that, notwithstanding amendment upon amendment had been made, until they had excited the laughter of the House, they would not appear upon the journals. He observed that in England nothing of the proceedings ever appeared but the vote only, and suggested that such an improvement was highly applicable here.

The SPEAKER rose and explained the English practice, remarking in what it differed from the practice here. He said, he stood in the judgment of the House, which he should in future follow.

The House made no order.

Mr. TRENCH said he insisted on the attention of the House, before the question of adjournment was put, relative to an item mentioned in the accounts, and in the debate, which related to a very respectable friend, not in parliament [Mr. Talbot]. He

said, not many within, and fewer out of the House, knew the circumstances of the transaction. There was an estate disposed of to the Crown, for the enlargement of the Park; the price was 2000*l.* and chargeable with 150*l.* per annum, until said sum was discharged at one payment; for some years the payments were regular, but arrears took place, and though the first legal opinions in both kingdoms were in his favour, Mr. Talbot found inconceivable delay—he commenced a suit, but accepted compromise. The Auditor General stated his accounts at upwards of 12,000*l.* The Crown officers established his right; yet this 4000*l.* (one-third of the last demand) was all he could obtain. The parties were too respectable to term it a swindling transaction; but it certainly was an act in the plenitude of power, in which Mr. Talbot conferred, and not received obligations from the Crown.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said the facts were nearly as stated; that the petition to the Exchequer was an error in proceeding; that he had reported, as to the merits of the claim, but recommended a compromise; and that there was no swindling in the matter.

Mr. BERESFORD—After so much laughter as has arisen from the great number and variety of amendments that have been offered, I am almost ashamed to say one serious word; but so much has been said concerning the expence of collecting the revenue, and such unfair insinuations have been thrown out with respect to what gentlemen are pleased to call revenue pensions, that they ought to be refuted.

When gentlemen talk of 140,000*l.* increase of taxes, do they imagine they can be collected without additional expences? or would they think it just in the persons who have the care and management of the revenue to allow the taxes to lie uncollected by way of saving expence?

Gentlemen have spoken of pensions on the revenue establishment. I call upon them to examine the fact. Let them call for the proper documents, and they will not find a single expence incurred that is not warranted by the rules laid down by this House.

The question of adjournment was now put, and passed unanimously.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1788.

A petition of James King and Abraham Bradley King, printers to the House, was presented and read; praying a recompence for printing the twenty-fourth volume of the journals of the House of Commons.

VOL. VIII.

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A petition of James King and Abraham Bradley King, printers to the House, was presented and read; setting forth, that the petitioners printed three hundred and twenty sets of the public accounts for one year, ending at Lady-day, 1787, three hundred and twenty sets of the public accounts for half a year, ending 29th September, 1787, laid before the House this session of Parliament, each set containing fix sheets of figure work, on fine large paper; and therefore praying a recompence.

The House resolved itself into a committee of supply, Mr. Ma-son in the chair.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then moved the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of 20,000*l.* ought to be deducted from the arrear charged in the Accountant General's paper, and stated by the committee of accounts, as arrears on charges pursuant to act of parliament; the same being a saving rather than arrear, as it was granted for cloathing, arming and maintaining a militia, from the 25th of March, 1786, to the 25th of March, 1787.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 2,159,252*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* was the debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1787.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the nation is also liable to the payment of certain life annuities at the rate of 6*l.* per cent. per ann. for a sum of 440,000*l.* and is also liable to the payment of certain other life annuities at the rate of 7*l.* 10*s.* per cent. per ann. for a further sum of 300,000*l.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a supply be granted to his Majesty, towards payment of said debt and said annuities, and towards supporting the several branches of the establishment, and for defraying the other necessary expences of Government for one year, ending Lady-day, 1789.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, are necessary to be maintained within this kingdom for its defence.

He said, before he would move for the number of troops for the ensuing year, he thought it necessary to observe, that it would vary from that of the last year, but not from the number stipulated in the year 1769; it was then stipulated, that there should be kept at all times within the kingdom, 12,000 effective men, and that 3,235 should be maintained for the defence of the British possessions abroad; his intention now was to provide for within two or three of that number, which, by the prudent management of Government, he was enabled to do at an expence 6700 short of that which was adopted in 1769; so that in fact, a greater number of effective men was now to be obtained at a smaller expence than heretofore had been incurred.

He observed that the idea of varying the number of men was not an innovation, that the number had been frequently varied since the compact of 1769, and such variation was perfectly justifiable, provided Government did not augment the number, or encrease the expences of the army beyond the compact then entered into, and which it was not his intention to violate.

The immediate cause of putting the army on the intended footing in point of number, was the necessity of sending troops to the defence of the British colonies, an aid which England was well warranted in calling upon us for, she having imparted to us an equal right and interest in those colonies.

Another cause was the alteration that had taken place in the army itself in order to form it upon the English model; every regiment had been encreased from eight to ten companies, but this had been done with so much oeconomy, that the gross sum of the expence is within the stipulated sum.

The gross increase of men is 500 in number; that increase is composed of 140, which were deficient last year, and 360, which are added to the army. Last year the cavalry were 2080, they are now 2100, by the adding of five men to each of 4 regiments of dragoons. There are 21 regiments of foot, to each of which have been added 6 men, making 122. In the regiments serving abroad there is an augmentation of 54 men in each, making altogether in that service 324.

Here he begged gentlemen to observe, that an alteration highly advantageous to the country was now introduced. It had been the practice formerly to allow two men to each company of infantry, those men had no existence but upon paper, their pay went to a certain regimental purpose; it is now intended that the officers shall have a compensation in lieu of these men upon paper, and that the nation shall not be charged with the pay of any man who is not really and bona fide efficient; consequently instead of having a deduction of 454 from 12,000 men, we shall have the whole number of men in their shoes, so that, in fact, we have an addition of 500 and 454 men, making together 954, without any expence to the nation.

The recruiting service, he said, has heretofore been always a deduction of at least 2000 men from our army, 'tis now proposed to carry on that service by a distinct fund, by which we shall be enabled to keep at least 1000 men nearer to our number;—thus our army encreases upon the whole 1958 men; and gentlemen, he said, will allow, that if we pay for 12,000 men, we ought to have as near that number as possible.

The former expence of maintaining the army he stated at 393,956*l.* the present expence would be 423,718*l.* making a difference of 30,062*l.*—to make good this difference he recurred to what e had said respecting the change which had taken place in the army, by raising the companies of each regiment from 8 to 10,

and by this means providing for the officers which before had been seconded, by which a saving of 16,000*l.* that had been annually issued in king's letters, would be made. There was also an exceeding on military contingencies of 5000*l.* on this account, which is hereafter to be deducted and brought in credit; this brings the sum to 21,000*l.* the charge for non-effective men will now become a saving of 6000*l.* making 27,000*l.* This sum, with some savings on the cavalry, made up the whole of the 30,062*l.*

There, was, however one thing to be mentioned; that there was an intention of making good to the cavalry officers the loss they sustain by the regulations which have lately taken place. This loss, amounting to 25,000*l.* it was the intention of Government to make good by three annual payments.

Upon the whole he trusted that it would appear that the strictest œconomy had been observed. Certainly were the 1954 men now added to the army to be raised separately, it would have cost the nation at least 22,000*l.* more than the present charge.

He then moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that to enable his Majesty to carry into execution his gracious intention and determined resolution signified to us by his Excellency the Lord Viscount Townshend, late Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, by his Majesty's command, to keep within this kingdom for the necessary defence of the same, 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, at all times, unless in case of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, 3232 men, commission and non-commission officers included, be maintained for one year, from the 31st March 1787, to the first day of April 1788, inclusive, so that the forces on the establishment of this kingdom may amount to 15,232 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included.

Mr. GRATTAN said he admitted that it was but just to make a grant for the defence of the British plantations—and he was certain that gentlemen would contribute to the defence of the empire in general without reluctance—but they should be moderate and prudent in their contributions and supplies. And while making a grant to that purpose, he thought that they ought to assent it. He conceived that the business ought to have come before the House in a different manner. Upon a matter so important as an augmentation of the army, he should naturally expect a message from the Throne, with an estimate of the expence. The right honourable gentleman, he said, had spoken of the compact of 1769; that was accompanied by both message and estimate. He had delivered his estimate with candour, but perhaps it is not easily understood—particularly as gentlemen in this House may not be intimately versed in military affairs. Time, at all events, will

be necessary for its consideration. He said he was much against so important a matter taking place, as an augmentation of the army, without a speech from the Throne advising the House of it, and an estimate of its expence.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied, that it was evident from the statement he had just made that there was no extraordinary expence or number intended. If any thing extraordinary was intended, extraordinary measures would be necessary, and the right honourable Gentleman would be perfectly right. Variations in the number and regulations of the army had been frequently made, without objection, although no message from the Throne had been received, and although no estimate of the expence had been laid before the House.

Mr. GRATTAN answered, that the number was by no means clear. The right honourable gentleman had only told the House, "you shall have expence one way, and reduction another." It was a matter of estimate. This he thought not what the privilege of the House demanded on an occasion of such importance.

Mr. CONOLLY.—Before I agree to this augmentation in fact, which is no augmentation in theory, to this army of men who formerly stood only on paper, but are now to stand in their shoes, I must acknowledge that I would rather the plan for this new augmentation had come down in the proper form of a message. I had the honour to propose the former augmentation. I did then, and ever since think, that the men so added were really and *bona fide* to have been soldiers, and after nineteen years I am sorry to find that they have had no existence but on paper only. However I am glad even now to see reform take place, and that we are actually to have the number of men for which we pay.

I congratulate my right honourable friend [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] upon this new occupation of Secretary at War, and I subscribe to his argument, and to the opinion of my right honourable friend, [Mr. Grattan] that so far as these troops can contribute to the support and protection of the British empire, their being added to the army must give satisfaction to every Irishman. We all wish to assist Great Britain to maintain her glory and defend her dominions. Besides, we have now an equal interest with Great Britain in the West Indies, for the defence of which part of those troops are destined; but our interest in the British constitution is much more valuable, and I think an augmentation of the standing army should not take place in a free country without Parliament having been first consulted.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said, he rose to explain to the right honourable gentleman, why a message had not now been sent down to the House as upon the compact in 1769. At that

period a proposal was made on the part of Government, that this country should maintain an army of 15,000 men, 12,000 to be kept at all times for the defence of the kingdom, and 3000 to be given to the defence of the West India possessions. From that day to this it appeared that the compact had not perfectly been fulfilled. We were now called upon to carry it into effect, and without any additional expence; he thought, therefore, the right honourable gentleman who proposed it in 1769, would receive pleasure at seeing it brought to perfection. He had, with great satisfaction, heard gentlemen declare their willingness to support the British empire, and to defend the possessions in the West Indies, which were now become the colonies of Ireland as well as England: and he begged leave to observe, that this was a just and liberal return for the attention shewn to our finances in the course of the last war, when, though we furnished the stipulated troops, Great Britain bore the expence of their pay, which had saved us more than 100,000*l*.

Mr. CORRY said he took the liberty of rising to declare his most hearty concurrence with gentlemen in the principle of supporting the honour and interests of the British empire. This, next to the preservation of our constitution, and keeping out of debt, was the great object of his heart, and upon these terms he would be ever ready to give Great Britain all possible assistance.

He owned he differed in opinion with the two right honourable gentlemen, [Mr. Grattan and Mr. Conolly] with respect to the necessity of Parliament's receiving a message upon this occasion. Parliament had already voted a certain number of troops at a certain expence. No man could doubt the prerogative of the Crown, while it keeps the army within the number and within the expence voted by Parliament, to regulate and arrange them as it should think proper. For several years past the number of men varied considerably from that stated in the compact of 1769; but as it had never exceeded that number, it never had been necessary to send a message to the House upon that subject. Upon the whole he thought the measure of reform now explained to the House, demonstrated consummate prudence, great œconomy, and compleat efficiency in the persons who contrived it.

Mr. FITZHERBERT assured the House there was not any further augmentation intended; that the intention of Government was merely to keep up effectively the number of men stipulated in Lord Townshend's message, and that it was not from any deficiency in the high respect which was due to that House, that Government had refrained from sending a message on the subject, but because they considered themselves as carrying into effect the already declared sense of Parliament.

The committee of supply proceeded.

Upon a motion for a grant to the House of Industry,

The SOLICITOR GENERAL, (Arthur Wolfe, Esq;) said he thought the governors of that corporation did not by any means answer the purpose of their institution, which was to clear the streets of vagrants. About Grafton-street and its neighbourhood, he said, the swarm of beggars never were so great as at the present day. Some of the faces he had known there for years, who seemed to remain perfectly tranquil and undisturbed, following their employment. He mentioned this as a hint to the governors of the House of Industry, and assured them that if they did not exert themselves better for the future, he would oppose any grant of money to them; as in his mind it answered no purpose but that of calling all the beggars of the kingdom to the metropolis.

Mr. GARDINER said the governors were not to blame, their fund was insufficient to maintain a force great enough to keep the streets clear of beggars; he had hoped the police would have performed that duty, but the truth was, the number of poor at present maintained in the House of Industry was upwards of 1300, and therefore without a very considerable fund little more could be done by the governors.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL.—If the efforts of the corporation are inadequate to the purpose of this institution, let the corporation be dissolved, for I can conceive nothing worse than the present state of Dublin, so far as respects the annoyance of beggars.

Upon the motion for a grant for encouraging manufactures,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said it had been the opinion of gentlemen the most conversant in manufactures, and who were perfect judges of the good effects produced by the bounties heretofore given, that if they were to be continued for a certain time, their good effects would be still farther enhanced; he would therefore have it understood that they were to be continued for three years certain.

He also now took notice of the very great advantage the nation had reaped from the lottery of last year, the whole benefit of which, instead of being dispersed in a variety of hands, had been brought forward to the public benefit, producing a fund of 50,000*l.* and enabling the nation to lower the interest one-half per cent. on a very considerable part of her debt. These benefits, he said, arose from the circumstance of the lottery having

been a close lottery. He would not make any apology to the gentlemen who had been disappointed of shares in it, because he was convinced they were better satisfied to see the good effect produced to the national credit, than they would have been by any little emolument that could possibly accrue from a share.

The plan of reducing the interest on the national debt, he said, still continued his favourite object; and the success of last year inclined him to consider lotteries as the best means for producing that effect. He had tried the monied people in England and in Ireland, and the proposal he was now about to mention, appeared to him infinitely the best, amongst a great number that had been offered.

It was proposed to lend the public 40,000*l.* at three and a half per cent. in order to pay off a like sum bearing interest at four per cent. thus sinking the interest one-eighth, and bringing a profit or annual saving of interest to the public of 2000*l.*—so that on the one subscription the nation gains 20,000*l.*—but in addition, the proposers offered to take all the Treasury bills which are due this year, amounting to a sum of 238,090*l.* at 2*d.* per diem, making a further saving of 1816*l.* The whole annual advantage to the public will then be 3816*l.* equal to the interest of 95,000*l.* of the public debt.

Now gentlemen will see what an advantageous bargain this is to the public; but there is still something more we are offered, which I now submit to you; if we will give two lotteries in different years, that the subscribers will reduce the interest on the whole of your loan debentures and Exchequer bills; this will make an annual saving of 8998*l.*—that is 4591*l.* on the debentures reduced from 4*l.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* and 4407*l.* Exchequer bills from 4*l.* 11*s.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* These proposals are, as I have said, by much the best of any that have been offered in England or in Ireland, and I mention them now that if any gentleman has any more advantageous scheme government may adopt it. After this the lottery will be disencumbered of loan, and consequently become still more productive; and I hope gentlemen will look upon the present transactions the greatest effort that can be made to reduce the interest of the national debt.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1788.

A petition of the seneschal, merchants and inhabitants of the borough of Newry, on behalf of themselves and others inhabiting the countries adjacent to the navigation from Lough Neagh to the sea at Fathom near Newry, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the town of Newry being situated near the sea coast enjoys an extensive foreign commerce both of import and export, and

also a considerable inland trade by the means of a navigable canal from Lough Neagh to the sea; that the extensive and populous countries adjacent to the said canal and to Lough Neagh, with which it communicates as aforesaid, have by means thereof received important and lasting benefits, inasmuch as thereby every article of life, tillage, manufacture and trade, has been conveyed thither, and exported from thence to foreign markets in greater quantities and at reduced prices; that the corporation for carrying on the inland navigations of this kingdom have been dissolved, the funds thereof, from which the said Newry canal received occasional aids, are now appropriated solely to the navigation from Dublin to the river Barrow; that from hence, as well as from the decay natural to all such works, the said canal now requires considerable repairs, alterations and improvements; that the aforesaid necessary repairs, alterations and improvements of the said canal will (as the petitioners are informed by workmen of ability who have considered the same) cost not less than 10,000*l.* a sum to which the particular funds of the said canal are totally inadequate; that such repairs, alterations and improvements of the said canal, must not only essentially serve the said countries adjacent to the said canal and to Lough Neagh, but be of general advantage to the whole kingdom, inasmuch as thereby the navigation of the said canal and of Lough Neagh, and consequently the communication between the said countries and the sea will be rendered more cheap, easy, safe and expeditious, and the linen trade, that great source of wealth to this kingdom, will thereby be much increased and extended; that it has been heretofore permitted to support such an inland navigation as the said canal, by an appropriated local and temporary tax; that the petitioners (who form a very considerable part of the body to be affected thereby) are desirous to be so taxed for a reasonable time, in order to promote the great purposes before mentioned; that the petitioners therefore humbly entreat that the House may be pleased, in order to raise a fund for the aforesaid purposes, to bring in, or permit to be brought in, a bill to impose, for the term of ten years, a tax of 6*d.* per ton on every ship or vessel that shall load or unload any part of her cargo in the river or harbour of Newry, or that the House may adopt such other measures therein as to it may seem most fit,

Mr. SECRETARY FITZHERBERT informed the House that he was commanded by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint them that his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer to the address of the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table; it was then read by the Speaker, (all the members being uncovered) and is as follows:

“ G E O R G R .

“ His Majesty has received with great satisfaction the address of the House of Commons of Ireland; their expressions of loyalty and attachment to his royal person and government, and their assurances of zealously contributing to the support of the honour of his crown and the general interests of his dominions, excite such emotions in his Majesty's breast as cannot fail to ensure an earnest attention to their prosperity and happiness, for the advancement of which it will always be his Majesty's desire to secure to his faithful and loyal subjects the blessings of peace, and to encourage their commerce and manufactures.

“ His Majesty is highly pleased with the affectionate attention which has been paid by the House of Commons to the memory of their late Chief Governor, whose public and private virtues his Majesty does not doubt will long remain imprinted on the minds of his people of Ireland: however sensibly his Majesty may feel the loss of so faithful a servant, he cannot but meet with much consolation in the satisfaction which his people of Ireland receive in the re-appointment of the Marquis of Buckingham to the government of that kingdom, whose diligence and zeal his Majesty is persuaded will be constantly exerted for the promotion of such measures as will best tend to their interests and prosperity.

“ G. R.”

Mr. MASON, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to take into consideration the supply granted to his Majesty, as also his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's speech, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as follow :

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee,

That a sum not exceeding 2,159,252l. 1s. 2½d. was the debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1787.

That the nation is also liable to the payment of certain life annuities, at the rate of 6l. per cent. per annum, for a sum of 440,000l. ; and is also liable to the payment of certain other life annuities, at the rate of 7l. 10s. per cent. per annum, for a further sum of 300,000l.

That a supply be granted to his Majesty towards payment of the said debt and the said annuities, and towards supporting the several branches of the establishments, and for defraying the other necessary expences of government for one year, ending the 25th of March, 1789.

That 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, are necessary to be maintained within this kingdom for its defence.

That to enable his Majesty to carry into execution his gracious intentions and determined resolution, signified to us by his Excellency the Lord Viscount Townshend, late Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, by his Majesty's command, to keep within this kingdom, for the necessary defence of the same, 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, at all times, unless in case of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, 3232 men, commission and non-commission officers included, be maintained for one year, from the 31st day of March, 1787, to the 1st day of April, 1788, inclusive, so as that the forces on the establishment of this kingdom may amount to 15,232 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included.

That a sum of 4000l. be given to the right honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, to enable him to maintain the state and dignity of his office.

That a sum of 540l. be given to Edward Cooke, Esq; clerk of this House, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 350l. be given to Benjamin Higgins, clerk assistant, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 270l. be given to James Corry, clerk of the journals and records, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 140l. be given to Dawson Ellis, clerk of the engrossments, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 500l. be given to George Frederick Winstanley and Jonathan Rogers, the clerks attending the select and other committees, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of Parliament, to be equally divided between them.

That a sum of 670l. be given to Dixie Coddington, Esq; serjeant at arms, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 70l. be given to Lorenzo Sensi, as a reward for his trouble and attendance in delivering the votes to the members this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 200l. be given to James Mc. Cowen and Henry Holmes, door-keepers to this House, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of Parliament, to be equally divided between them.

That a sum of 700l. be given to the Speaker, to be by him divided among the back door-keepers and messengers attending

this House, being twenty in number, and the other attendants, in such manner as he shall direct.

That a sum of 140*l.* be given to Thomas L'Estrange, for his extraordinary care and trouble in attending this House as assistant serjeant at arms.

That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Edward Cooke, Esq; for his trouble and expence in preparing copies, superintending the printing, and making an index to the twenty-fourth volume of the journals of this House.

That a sum of 50*l.* be given to James Corry, for his extraordinary trouble in attending the committee of accounts this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 168*l.* be given to James King and Abraham Bradley King, for printing the public accounts laid before the House this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 500*l.* be given to the Speaker, to be applied by him in manner directed by this House, with respect to a similar sum granted in the last session of Parliament, for the better arrangement of business in the clerks offices.

That a sum of 340*l.* be given to Thomas Burgh, Esq; accountant-general, as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and stating the public accounts of the nation, laid before the House this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 800*l.* be given to John Tydd, Esq; in consideration of his extraordinary attendance, care and expence in the office of paymaster of corn premiums.

That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Henry Gore, Esq; as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and making out the account of the imports and exports for one year, ending the 25th day of March, 1787, pursuant to the order of this House.

That a sum of 70*l.* be given to Henry Smyth, deputy paymaster of corn premiums, for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing accounts by him laid before this House for one year, ending at Midsummer, 1787.

That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Paul Le Bas, examiner of corn premiums, on account of the great increase of his trouble in examining and keeping accounts of said premiums, and for his expences in payment of clerks, in the year ending at Lady-day, 1787.

That a sum of 140*l.* be given to John Smart, deputy accountant-general, for his extraordinary trouble this session of Parliament, and superintending the printing the public accounts.

That a sum of 140*l.* be given to Anthony Ferguson, for his extraordinary trouble in making up the several accounts laid by

him before this House, and attending the House this session of Parliament.

That a sum of 140l. be given to John Swan, examiner of excise, for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing accounts for this House.

That a sum of 500l. be granted to Thomas Winder, Esq; as a reward for the trouble by him taken, in consequence of the trust vested by this House in the Commissioners of his Majesty's revenue, for the recovery of the debt due to his Majesty by the late Sir Henry Cavendish, Bart. late teller of the Exchequer.

That a sum of 2000l. be given for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1789, to the trustees of the linen manufacture, to encourage the raising sufficient quantities of hemp and flax in this kingdom.

That a further sum of 2000l. for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1789, be given to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, for the encouragement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught.

That the sum of 3000l. be granted to the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, for the purpose of carrying on the square in the said College, called the Parliament Square, agreeably to the terms set forth in their petition, presented to this House the last session of Parliament, and to be raised in such manner as Parliament shall direct.

That the sum of 10,000l. be given to the Incorporated Society, as a full provision for supporting the Protestant Charter Schools of this kingdom for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1789.

That a sum of 4138l. 4s. 8d. be given to the Governors of the Foundling-hospital and Work-house, towards enabling them to discharge the debts by them contracted for the use of that charity, and towards supporting their necessary expences.

That a sum of 8000l. be given to the Corporation for the Relief of the Poor in the city of Dublin, for the support of the House of Industry, in aid of the charitable contributions, for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1789.

That a sum of 1000l. be given to the Hibernian Marine Society, towards supporting the said charity.

That a sum of 1000l. be given to the Governors of the Hibernian School, for the support of that charity.

That a sum of 5000l. be granted to the Board of First Fruits, for building new churches, and rebuilding old churches in such

parishes as no public divine service has been performed in for twenty years last past.

That a sum of 6000*l.* be granted to the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, towards building further offices for the public records, and courts of justice adjoining.

That a sum of 5000*l.* be given to the Dublin Society, for the improvement of husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland; to be applied in such manner as shall be directed by Parliament.

That a sum of 20,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty, for the clothing, arming and maintaining a militia in this kingdom for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1789; to be applied in such manner as Parliament shall hereafter direct.

That a sum of 17,000*l.* be given for the purpose of paying bounties on the home sale of manufactures of this kingdom; that is to say, of wool, wool mixed, cotton, cotton mixed, threads, kentings, and manufactures of iron and copper; all such bounties to be payable in a larger proportion on goods manufactured at a distance from the city of Dublin, than on those manufactured in it, or within the distance of ten miles of it; to be distributed in such manner as Parliament shall hereafter direct.

That the sum of 692*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* be given to James King and Abraham Bradley King, printers to this House, for printing and binding five hundred copies of the twenty-fourth volume of the journals, for the use of the members of this House.

That a sum of 80*l.* be granted to Elizabeth Molloy, for the additional expences incurred by her in the articles of coal and candle, which she is obliged to furnish in the new buildings in the interval between this and the next session of Parliament.

That the supply granted to his Majesty towards payment of the said debt, annuities, establishments, and other charges of Government, be a sum not exceeding 3,210,661*l.*

That a further supply be granted to his Majesty for paying the several foregoing gifts, bounties, rewards and specific grants.

That the said further supply be a sum not exceeding 95,938*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*

When the question was put on the resolution to grant 500*l.* to Thomas Winder, Esq;

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON objected to the grant, as being too great for the sum collected.

Mr. BERESFORD denied that the sum was too much, taking it in any light; but, he said, when the honourable Baronet considered the manner in which the rents were paid by very small

fums at a time, and when he considered the variety of troublesome circumstances which attended that collection, and the difference between collecting money by small quantities, and all together, especially to a man whose office is such a source of business as Mr. Winder's is, he was sure he would think it too little.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was sure no man who considered a moment would hesitate on the question. Mr. Winder was an officer who, at the same time, had the most business and the most ability of any other in any department, and had, as a man, every claim to public approbation. This task had been imposed on him by Parliament, and if we were only to grant the very lowest poundage, it would amount to much more than the sum proposed.

The question was then put on the several resolutions, and they were agreed to by the House.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1788.

It was ordered that the petitioner, complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Cavan, do by himself or his agent deliver to the sitting member or his agents lists of the persons intended by the petitioner to be objected to, who voted for the sitting member, giving in the said lists the several heads of objection, and distinguishing the same against the voters objected to, on or before Saturday the 9th day of February instant.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, Mr. Mason in the chair.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, that a duty of 6d. per ton be laid on all vessels that shall enter the harbour of Newry, of which the sum of 1000l. yearly, for ten years, should be applied, for the repair and completion of the Newry Canal, pursuant to the prayer of the petition from Newry.

Mr. CORY wished that the matter of the petition and resolution might be deferred for a few days, in order that the petitioners may have time to reconsider the petition, as they might think of some more eligible way of raising the tax, for the purpose of the petition.

Colonel Ross said, he was not for postponing the resolution, for if the mode was exceptionable, there would be sufficient opportunity to consider it.

The resolution passed.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, he did not see a right honourable Baronet [Sir Henry Cavendish] in his place, who had formerly brought on the subject of lowering the interest of money; he took that opportunity to declare, as he formerly did, that he thought it best to try the experiment on the public funds, rather than on the private property of individuals; that Government had no intention now of pressing on that matter, but if any gentleman chose to agitate it, he had no objection.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY, 5, 1788.

The House resolved itself into a committee of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, conformable to his promise of notifying to the committee, any regulation or change intended to be made in the duties, mentioned, that coffee, which was an article almost wholly smuggled into the kingdom, might with some alteration be made the source of a productive tax; at present the duty is within a very small fraction of 12d. per pound on importation. Under this duty very little indeed was imported; he therefore thought that lowering the import duty to 6d. and putting an excise of 6d. more on the consumption, would be a probable means of defeating the smuggler, and producing a revenue from that article, which at present produced hardly any thing.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider further of the supply granted to his Majesty, for the purpose of laying a foundation for local duties only, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee,

That a further supply be granted to his Majesty, for the use of the Corporation for promoting and carrying on the Newry Navigation, in order to enable them more effectually to carry on the said work.

That the further supply granted to his Majesty, for the use of the Corporation for promoting and carrying on the Newry Navigation, be a sum not exceeding 1000l. per annum for the term of ten years, from the 25th day of March, 1788.

Mr. Mason reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the following resolutions, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee,

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the several additional and other rates, duties and impositions herein

after mentioned shall be raised, levied, collected and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from the 25th day of March, 1788, to the 25th day of March, 1789, inclusive.

That a duty be laid on all beer, ale and porter which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except from France, or the French dominions in Europe, after the rate of 4s. 1d. for every 32 gallons, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That a duty of 6d. be laid on every pound of green tea, and 4d. on every pound of black bohea tea and other teas which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable for the same by any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That a further additional duty be laid on all teas imported into this kingdom which shall have been purchased at the East India Company's sales in London for an higher price than 4s. British per pound, at the rate of 1d. per pound for every 6d. that shall be paid for the same over and above the sum of 4s. British at the sales above-mentioned, during the time aforesaid; the price of the teas to be inserted in the cockets, and to be further ascertained by a reference to the sale-books of the East-India Company, which the commissioners of the revenue are required to procure from time to time, for the purposes above-mentioned.

That an additional duty of 6d. per yard be laid on all chintzes, calicoes and muslins of the manufacture of China, Persia, and the East-Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That a further additional duty of 6d. be laid on every yard of callico and muslin which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except of the manufacture of France, or the French dominions in Europe.

That an additional duty of 1s. 6d. per yard be laid on all sorts of silks and stuffs made or manufactured in Persia, China or the East-Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 1½d. per pound weight be laid upon all hops which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid from Great Britain

That an additional duty of 4l. sterling per pound weight be laid on all velvets and manufactures made of or mixed with silk, except those of Great Britain, China, Persia and the East Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 1s. per ream be laid on every ream of paper (except brown, blue and pressing paper) which shall be

imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except of the manufacture of Great Britain.

That a duty of 1s. per pack be laid upon all painted or playing cards which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 6d. per gallon be laid upon all linseed oil which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

That the following additional duties be laid on all damask towelling, napkins or cloths made of flax or hemp, imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, not being of the manufacture of Great Britain, France, or the French dominions in Europe; that is to say, a duty of 6d. per yard on all such goods from one yard to eight quarters wide, and 2s. per yard on all such goods above eight quarters wide.

That from and after the 25th day of March, 1788, the full duties which have been or shall be paid on the import of any goods, wares or merchandizes, except where it shall be otherwise provided this session of Parliament, shall be fully repaid for such as shall be exported by any merchant within three years after import to any place whatever.

That a duty of 2os. be paid by every person that doth or shall sell or tap out by retail any cider at any time during the time aforesaid.

That all duties of customs inwards, import excise, and all other duties whatsoever payable on the import of any goods, wares and merchandizes, during the time aforesaid, shall be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance for prompt payment.

That for and upon all goods, wares and merchandizes which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except sugars, by any person being a retailer or consumer, there shall be paid in ready money net, without discount or allowance for prompt payment, an additional duty after the rate of 6l. per centum on the duties payable thereon respectively, over and above the full amount of such duties; except the following articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of France, or the French dominions in Europe, viz. beer, hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware and turnery; manufactures of iron, steel, copper and brass; cottons; woollens, knit and wove; hosiery; cambricks and lawns; linens made of flax or hemp; sadlery; gauzes; millinery made of muslin, lawn, cambrick or gauze; porcelain, earthen ware and pottery; glass and glass ware.

That a duty of 2os. per ton be laid upon every ton of soap boilers waste and manure, and of 3l. per ton on every ton of

linen rags, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity which shall be exported out of this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 6d. per hide be laid upon every raw and untanned hide which shall be exported out of this kingdom during the time aforesaid to any place except Great Britain.

That a duty of 40s. be laid on every 100lb. weight of gunpowder, not being of British manufacture, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That a duty of 15s. per ton be laid on all vinegar being of British manufacture, and an additional duty of 5l. 6s. per ton upon all other vinegar which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; the said duty of 15s. to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That an additional duty of 20s. sterling be laid on every 100 weight of treacle which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 6d. per yard be laid upon all foreign stuffs called romals, and all manufactures made of cotton, or of cotton and linen mixed, whether plain, painted or stained which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except of the manufacture of Great Britain, France, or the French dominions in Europe.

That the 6d. per pound and all other fees which shall or may be payable to the vice-treasurer or vice-treasurers, receiver or paymaster general, clerk of the pells, or any other officer or officers of this kingdom, for or on account of the issuing or payment of any sum or sums which shall be received for or on account of the said several aids hereby granted to his Majesty, or for or upon issuing any sum or sums of money which shall or may be borrowed pursuant to any act of Parliament or vote of credit this session of Parliament, be applied towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty.

That a further additional duty of 5l. per centum be laid upon all china, earthen, japanned or lacquered ware, as valued or rated for custom by the book of rates, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; and also an additional duty, after the rate of 10l. per centum on the several goods and manufactures, not being of the growth and produce or manufacture of Great Britain hereinafter named, as the same now stand rated for custom in the book of rates, or if unrated shall be valued on oath of the importer, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, over and above all other duties now payable for the same, viz. apparel, apples, bacon and hams,

beads of glass, chocolate, cocoa nuts, cork, capers, cloves, currants, chefnuts, walnuts, small nuts, bugles, hulled barley, artificial flowers, millinery wares, pearl barley, fans, hats (chip and straw) anchovies, sturgeon, pins, wrought ivory, olives, onions, prints and pictures, mace, nutmegs, wrought inkle, drugs not being for dyers use, elephants teeth, furs, all lacquered, japanned, gilt, painted, bronzed and enamelled ware, gloves of all sorts, almonds, anniseeds, cinnamon, liquorice, pepper, piamento, pruens, raisins, rice, saffron, succards, succus liquoritiæ, needles, thimbles, outnal thread, sisters thread, whited brown thread, and all other threads, haberdashery, china and earthen ware, hardware, toys, mermits, iron pots, scissars, snuff, tyles, shot, laces of cotton, thread, worsted or silk, groceries of all kinds (except sugars), oranges and lemons, lime, lemon and orange juice not being for dyers use, tape, foreign linens, and all manufactures of flax and hemp, except the following articles, being of the growth, produce or manufacture of France, or the French dominions in Europe, viz. apparel made of woollen, cotton or linen, glass and glass ware, gauzes and millinery wares, earthen ware, porcelain and pottery, hard-ware, cutlery, cabinet-ware and turnery, manufactures of iron, steel, copper and brass, and all linens made of flax and hemp.

That a duty of 1½d. be laid on every pound weight of oil and spirits of turpentine which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duty to be in lieu and full satisfaction of any other duties payable thereon by any law or laws heretore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all rosin which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, of the product of any of the dominions or plantations belonging to his Majesty, a duty be laid of 1s. 7½d. for every one hundred weight thereof; but if not of the product of any of the dominions or plantations aforesaid, and imported in ships built and navigated according to law, then a duty of 2s. 5½d. for every one hundred weight thereof; or if imported in any foreign built ship or vessel, a duty of 2s. 6½d. for every one hundred weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all other duties payable thereon by any law or laws now in force in this kingdom.

That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all wines of the growth of Portugal and Madeira imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; if filled and imported by natives, 22l. 4s. 8d. if filled and imported by strangers, 23l. os. 2½d.; if unfilled and imported by natives, 20l. 14s. if unfilled and imported by strangers, 21l. 8s. by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said

duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance; and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all Rhenish wine imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; if filled and imported by natives, 27l. 19s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. if filled and imported by strangers, 29l. 9s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; if unfilled and imported by natives, 25l. 13s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. if unfilled and imported by strangers, 27l. 0s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise and other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all Spanish wine imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; if filled and imported by natives 22l. 4s. 8d. if filled and imported by strangers, 23l. 0s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; if unfilled and imported by natives, 20l. 14s. if unfilled and imported by strangers, 21l. 8s. by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That during the time aforesaid, the like duty shall be paid for all wines imported from the Canaries, and all other the dominions of Spain, as upon Spanish wine; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all other wines imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except wines of the growth of France, or the French dominions in Europe; if filled and imported by natives, 28l. 9s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. if filled and imported by strangers, 30l. 3s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; if unfilled and imported by natives, 26l. 2s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. if unfilled and imported by strangers, 27l. 12s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That upon the regular exportation of wines, whether by natives or strangers, within three years after the importation thereof to any place or places except the British plantations in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, there shall be paid the several drawbacks specified in the schedule hereunto annexed.

A Schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of wine exported within three years after the importation thereof.

	Not having paid aliens duty.		
	Filled.	Unfilled.	
	£. s. d. 20ths.	£. s. d. 20ths.	
Spanish, Canary, and wines of the dominions of Spain, Portugal and Madeira wine —	17 4 8 —	16 4 — —	
All other wines, except wines of France, or the French dominions in Europe. —	23 9 10 16	21 12 10 18 $\frac{2}{3}$	

	Having paid aliens duty.		
	Filled.	Unfilled.	
	£. s. d. 20ths.	£. s. d. 20ths.	
Spanish, Canary, and wines of the dominions of Spain, Portugal and Madeira wine —	16 6 10 13 $\frac{1}{3}$	15 8 — —	
All other wines, except wines of France, or the French dominions in Europe —	23 9 10 16	21 12 10 18 $\frac{2}{3}$	

That a duty of 10s. per barrel be laid upon all herrings which shall be imported into this kingdom except British herrings, during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 3d. per pound weight be laid on all chocolate and cocoa nuts which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 2l. 10s. per centum be laid on all iron wire which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, not being of the manufacture of Great Britain, France, or the French dominions in Europe.

That an additional duty of 2s. the barrel for and upon every thirty-two gallons of beer or ale above the price of 6s. the barrel, and 4d. the barrel for and upon every thirty-two gallons of beer or ale of the price of 6s. the barrel or under, brewed within this kingdom between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the

25th day of March 1789, by any common brewer, or in his vessels by any other person or persons who doth or do or shall sell or tap out beer or ale publicly or privately, such gallon to contain two hundred and seventy-two cubical inches and one-fourth part of a cubical inch, be paid by the common brewer, or by such person or persons respectively who shall brew, sell or tap out the same; and so proportionably for any greater or less quantity.

That a tax of 4s. in the pound be laid upon all salaries, profits of employments, fees and pensions, payable between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, to the persons who shall not actually reside six calendar months in this kingdom, between the said 25th day of March, 1788, and the said 25th day of March, 1789, except the descendants of his Majesty's royal grandfather, and except the Chief Governor and his Secretary, and also except the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Ferdinand, the Duke and Dutchess of Athol, the representatives of the right honourable Lord Baron Hawke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and George Charles, Esq; if his Majesty shall think fit by his sign manual to exempt them from the said tax; and also except all officers of the army, so far as respects the pay arising from their regimental commissions; and also except the half-pay officers on the establishment, and the widows of officers.

That an additional duty of 10d. per gallon for and upon every gallon of aqua vitæ, strong waters or spirits made or distilled within this kingdom for sale, be paid by the first maker or distiller thereof during the time aforesaid.

That an additional duty of 8d. per gallon be laid upon every gallon of brandy, strong waters and spirits perfectly made, and of spirits made and distilled of wine not above proof, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, and so proportionably for any greater or less quantity; and for every gallon of foreign spirits, above the quality of single spirits, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, an additional duty shall be paid for such spirits, and shall be charged thereon in proportion to the duties payable for single spirits of the same denomination, according to the comparative degree of strength which such spirits so to be imported shall bear to single spirits of the same denomination.

That a further additional duty of 10d. per gallon be laid on all rum or other spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

That a further additional duty of 1s. 8d. per gallon be laid on all brandy, geneva, and all other spirits which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except spirits of the

growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America, over and above all other duties now payable for the same.

That an additional duty of 6d. per pack be laid on all painted or playing cards which shall be manufactured or vended in this kingdom during the time aforesaid, over and above the present duty now payable for the same.

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty a general letter-office or post-office, together with all inferior necessary offices, be continued within this kingdom from the 25th day of March, 1788, to the 25th day of March, 1789; and that there shall be levied and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the portage and conveyance of letters and packets by the said offices, the several rates hereafter mentioned.

That there shall be levied and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time aforesaid, for the port and conveyance of every single letter or piece of paper from the office in this kingdom where such letter or piece of paper shall be put in, to any distance within the said kingdom not exceeding fifteen miles Irish measure, the sum of 2d.; and to any distance exceeding fifteen miles, and not exceeding thirty miles, the sum of 3d.; and to any distance exceeding thirty miles, the sum of 4d.; and for the port and conveyance of every double letter, double the said sums respectively; and of every treble letter, treble the said sums respectively; and of every ounce weight, four times the said sums respectively; and so in proportion for any greater weight than an ounce, reckoning every quarter of an ounce equal to a single letter.

That every letter or packet directed from any place in this kingdom to any parts in Great Britain or beyond the seas, or received in this kingdom from Great Britain or any parts beyond the seas, shall be charged and pay according to the rates aforesaid for its portage and conveyance within this kingdom from or to Dublin, or from or to Donaghadee, or from or to Waterford, according as it shall be respectively shipped from or landed in any of the said places.

That every letter or packet passing through the general post-office in the city of Dublin from any place within this kingdom not less distant than four miles from the said office, to any place within the said kingdom not less distant likewise than four miles from the said office, shall be charged and pay according to the distances in the foregoing resolutions to Dublin, and be further charged and pay according to the same from Dublin.

That for every letter or packet directed on board, or brought or sent from on board any ship or vessel riding or stopping in any port within this kingdom, there shall be charged and paid, over and above the rates aforesaid, the sum of 1d.

That towards raising the said supply a penny post-office be continued in the city of Dublin, for the port and conveyance of letters and packets within a circuit of four miles from the general post-office in the same city.

That for every letter or packet of any weight which shall be sent to or delivered from the general post-office by the penny-post from or to any place not being within the limits of the said city, as they are ascertained and described in a map or survey thereof made by Thomas Matthews, and deposited in the general post-office, there shall be paid the sum of 1d. over and above or exclusive of the rates aforesaid.

That for the port and conveyance of any letter or packet, being not more than four ounces in weight, from or to any place within the city of Dublin, by the penny post-office, there shall be paid at the time of putting such letter or packet into the office the sum of 1d. ; and for the port or conveyance of every letter or packet not exceeding the like weight from any place in the said city, to any place outside of the said city, within the circuit of the penny post-office, or from any place outside of the said city, within the circuit of the penny-post to any place within the said city, there shall be paid at the time of putting in such letter or packet the sum of 1d. and a further sum of 1d. on the delivery thereof.

That there shall be paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the delivery in Dublin of each British or foreign printed newspaper, and each printed vote or proceeding in Parliament, arriving at the general post-office in Dublin, Donaghadee, or Waterford, without cover, or in cover open at the sides, the sum of 1d. over and above all foreign postage charged thereon.

That there shall be paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the port and conveyance through this kingdom of each printed newspaper, directed from any part of Ireland, to any part of Great Britain, without covers, or in covers open at the sides, the sum of 1d. and no more, which sum of 1d. shall be paid on the delivery of such newspaper at the post-office, from whence it is dispatched in this kingdom.

That for and upon all Muscovado sugars of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom, between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, inclusive, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 13s. 4½d. for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity ; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all white sugars of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 1*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all refined sugars of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 5*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all Muscovado sugars, not being of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, or of the manufacture of Great Britain, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 1*l.* 9*s.* 5½*d.* for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all white sugars, not being of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, or of the manufacture of Great Britain, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 2*l.* 9*s.* 3½*d.* for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all refined sugars, not being of the growth, product, or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, or of the manufacture of Great Britain, shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a

duty after the rate of 5l. 6s. 10³d. for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That a duty of 1l. 16s. 9¹d. per hundred weight be laid on all refined sugars in loaves, not being bastards, and on all candy, which shall be imported from Great Britain during the time aforesaid, being of British manufacture, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the same to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That a duty be laid on all refined sugars, called bastards, and on all ground and powdered refined sugars, and all refined loaf broke in pieces, which shall be imported from Great Britain during the time aforesaid, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, after the rate of 18s. 11d. $\frac{16}{28}$ $\frac{10}{13}$ for every hundred weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duty to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all sugars, not being of the growth or produce of the British colonies in America or the West Indies, or of the manufacture of Great Britain, which shall be imported from Great Britain, during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, the several duties mentioned in the annexed schedule respectively, for every 112 pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise payable thereon, by any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

A Schedule of the respective duties payable upon all sugars imported into this kingdom, not being of the growth, product or manufacture of the British colonies or plantations in America or the West Indies, or of the manufacture of Great Britain, with the drawbacks to be allowed on the due exportation thereof within three years from the time of importation.—The said duties and drawbacks to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and drawbacks.

	£. s. d.		
Muscovado, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds	—	—	—
White, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds	1	7	3 ¹ / ₂
Refined, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds	2	5	3 ¹ / ₂
	4	17	8 ¹ / ₂

That there shall be allowed and repaid upon the export of all sugars, not being of the growth, product or manufacture of the British colonies or plantations in America or the West Indies, or of the manufacture of Great Britain, within three years after import, the several drawbacks in the above mentioned schedule, and no other.

That all drawbacks or allowances now given by law on the export of refined sugars made in this kingdom do now cease and be no longer payable; and that in lieu of said drawbacks, and for the encouragement of refining sugars in this kingdom, a bounty shall be allowed and paid upon all refined sugar which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 11. 8s. 2d. for every hundred weight of such refined sugar exported in the loaf, complete and whole, being net, that is to say, of one uniform whiteness throughout, and which hath gone through the operation of two or more clays since it was last in the pan, and hath been properly and thoroughly dried in the stove according to the present practice of refining; and after the rate of 12s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ for every hundred weight of such refined sugar exported, called bastards, and of all ground and powdered refined sugar, and all refined loaf sugar broke in pieces, the said sugar having been twice clayed and properly dried in the stove; and likewise of all candy properly refined and manufactured, and free from dirt and scum.

That there shall be paid for and upon all French wines which shall be imported into this kingdom from the 25th of March, 1788, to the 25th of March, 1789, inclusive; if filled and imported subject to aliens duty, a duty of 36l. 4s. 10 $\frac{4}{5}$ d. if filled and imported not subject to aliens duty, a duty of 35l. 0s. 4 $\frac{4}{5}$ d.; if unfilled and imported subject to aliens duty, a duty of 33l. 14s. 1 $\frac{4}{5}$ d. if unfilled and imported not subject to aliens duty, a duty of 32l. 12s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

That for and upon every 100l. value of beer, being the produce and manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 30l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every thirty-two gallons of beer, being the produce and manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a further duty of 4s. 1d. and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

That for and upon every 100l. value of cabinet ware and turnery, and instruments of music, being the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 10l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of all articles made of iron or steel separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, such articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, and not exceeding in value 2l. 14s. 2d. Irish currency the hundred weight, there shall be paid a duty of 5l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of articles made of iron and steel separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, such articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, and exceeding in value the sum of 2l. 14s. 2d. Irish currency the hundred weight; and for and upon every 100l. value of all buttons, buckles, scissars, knives and other articles of hardware and cutlery; and upon every 100l. value of all articles made of copper and brass, separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, such articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, and imported as aforesaid, there shall be paid a duty of 10l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of cottons and woollens, knit or wove, including hosiery, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 12l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon all cambricks of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, in demi pieces, not exceeding seven yards and three-fourths of a yard in length each, there shall be paid for every such demi piece of such cambrick, not

exceeding seven-eighths of a yard in breadth, or not being above the value of 2l. 14s. 2d. Irish currency, a duty of 5s. 5d.; but if such demi piece shall exceed seven-eighths of a yard in breadth, or shall be above the value of 2l. 14s. 2d. Irish currency, then a duty after the rate of 10l. for every 100l. value of all such cambric so imported in demi pieces, and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon all lawns of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, in demi pieces, not exceeding seven yards and three-fourths of a yard in length each, there shall be paid for every such demi piece of such lawn, not exceeding one yard and one quarter of a yard in breadth, or not being above the value of 2l. 14s. 2d. Irish currency, a duty of 5s. 5d.; but if such demi piece shall exceed one yard and a quarter in breadth, or shall be above the value of 2l. 14s. 2d. then a duty after the rate of 10l. for every 100l. value of such lawn so imported in demi pieces, and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon all linens made of flax or hemp, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported into this kingdom, during the time aforesaid, the following duties shall be paid, that is to say, for and upon all damask tabling, a duty of 10d. $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ per yard; for and upon all damask towelling and napkining, a duty of 3d. $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ per yard; for and upon all diaper tabling, a duty of 6d. $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ per yard; for and upon all diaper towelling and napkining, a duty of 2d. $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ per yard; for and upon all napkins, a duty after the rate of 3s. 3d. $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ for every dozen napkins; and for and upon all linens, not otherwise herein enumerated and described, a duty of 4d. $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ for each ell thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

That there be paid for and upon all sail-cloth of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, a duty of 11l. 0s. 8d. for every 100l. value thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of gizes of all sorts, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 10l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of porcelain, earthenware and pottery, being the manufactures of the European do-

minions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 12l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of plate-glass or of glass-ware, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 12l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of sadlery, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 15l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon every 100l. value of millinery made up of muslins, lawns, cambricks or gauzes of any kind, or of any other articles specified in the foregoing resolutions, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, there shall be paid a duty of 12l. and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That for and upon all other articles used in millinery, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, which shall be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, not being specified in the foregoing resolutions, duties shall be paid as low as are or may be payable on the like articles imported from any other foreign European nation.

That the said several duties be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise payable on the said articles respectively by virtue of any law or laws heretofore made in this kingdom.

That all goods, wares and merchandizes, being of the growth, produce or manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, not specified in the foregoing resolutions, may be imported directly from thence into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in ships of the built of either country or British built, owned and navigated according to law, on payment of duties as low

as are payable on the like articles imported from any other foreign European nation.

That from the 25th day of March, 1788, to the 25th day of March, 1789, a duty be laid upon all malt made in this kingdom, after the rate of 2s. 6d. for each barrel, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

That an additional duty be laid upon all malt imported into this kingdom between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March 1789, after the rate of 2s. 6d. by the barrel, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

It was ordered that leave be given to bring in one or more bill or bills pursuant to the said resolutions and the resolutions of the committee of supply; and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Prime Serjeant, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Mason and Mr. George Ponsonby do prepare and bring in the same.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare and bring in one or more bill or bills pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means, and the resolutions of the committee of supply, to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to exempt from the duties of postage all letters and packets not exceeding two ounces, sent from and to any place within the kingdom of Ireland during the sitting of any session of Parliament, or within forty days before or forty days after any summons or prorogation of the same, which shall be signed on the outside thereof by any member of either of the two Houses of Parliament in this kingdom, and whereof the whole superscription shall be of the hand-writing of such member, and on which there shall be endorsed, in the same hand-writing, the month, and the day of the month and year when the same shall be put into any post-office of this kingdom, to be forwarded by the post; the day and month to be in words at length; and shall also have endorsed thereon, in the same hand-writing, the name of the post-town from which the same is intended to be sent; provided always that no such letter or packet shall pass free of the duty of postage, unless the member directing the same shall have actually been in the post-town, or within the district or delivery of such post-town where such letters or packets shall be put in, to be forwarded by post on the day of the date superscribed on such letter or packet; and also except all letters or packets not exceeding the like weight, which shall, during the sitting of any session of Parliament, or within forty days before or forty days after any summons or prorogation of the same, be directed from any place in this kingdom to any member of either House of Parliament of this kingdom, at the place where he shall actually be at the time of the delivery thereof,

or at any of his usual places of residence, or at the House of Parliament of which he is a member; and also except all letters and packets directed from and to any place within this kingdom to his Majesty's Lieutenant General or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the kingdom of Ireland, the Chief Secretary of the said Lieutenant General or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, the secretary for the provinces of Ulster and Munster, the under secretary and first clerk for the civil department in the said chief secretary's office, the under secretary and first clerk for the military department in the office of the said chief secretary, or to his Majesty's post-master general of this kingdom, the secretary of the said general post-office, the comptroller of the sorting office in the said general post-office, and surveyors of the said general post-office, all for the time being; and letters and packets sent from any of the said officers, signed, superscribed and dated as aforesaid, from and to any place in this kingdom, which relate to the business of their respective offices, or their own private concerns only; also all printed votes or proceedings in Parliament, or printed newspapers, being sent by the post without covers, or in covers open at the sides, which shall be signed on the outside thereof by any member of Parliament, at any place within this kingdom whereof he shall have given notice in writing to the post-master general, or be sent by certain officers in the office of his Majesty's post-master general, who shall be thereunto licensed by the said post-master general.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that every single letter or piece of paper with patterns of silk, stuff, cotton or any other goods or commodities whatsoever inclosed therein, containing such writing only as respects such patterns, and not weighing in the whole more than one ounce, shall be charged and pay postage as a double letter only.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that all British or foreign printed newspapers, printed votes or proceedings in Parliament, which shall be sent from parts beyond the seas in covers open at the sides, or without covers, shall be charged and pay to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of 1d. and no more, for the port and conveyance of each newspaper, printed vote or proceeding.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that there shall be paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the port and conveyance through this kingdom of each printed newspaper, directed from any part of Ireland to any part of Great Britain, without covers, or in covers open at the sides, the sum of 1d.

in a great measure, tend to annihilate the woollen trade of this country; and therefore praying a temporary relief.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee,

That a duty of 1s. 3d. be laid upon every pound of raw silk, not being the produce of America, which shall be imported into this kingdom from any place whatsoever after the 25th day of March, 1788, until the 25th day of March, 1789; the said duty to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise and other duties whatsoever payable for the same by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That during the time aforesaid an allowance be paid on the exportation of all ribbands or stuffs made in this kingdom of silk only, after the rate of 3s. the pound weight avoirdupoise; and of all silks and ribbands made in this kingdom of silk mixed with gold and silver, after the rate of 4s. per pound weight; and of all silk stockings, silk gloves, fringes, laces, stitching and sewing silk made in this kingdom, after the rate of 1s. 3d. per pound weight; and of all stuffs made in this kingdom of silk and grogram yarn, after the rate of 8d. per pound weight; and of all stuffs made in this kingdom of silk mixed with inkle or cotton, after the rate of 1s. the pound weight; and of all stuffs made in this kingdom of silk and worsted, after the rate of 6d. per pound weight; and of all wrought or manufactured gold or silver plate made in this kingdom, after the rate of 6d. for every ounce weight.

That for and upon all speckle wood of the growth of Africa, which shall be imported into this kingdom from thence during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty of 4s. 9¹/₂d. for every one hundred weight thereof; and if imported from Great Britain, a duty of 4s. 5¹/₂d. for every one hundred weight, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity thereof; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise payable thereon by virtue of any law or laws heretofore made in this kingdom; and that upon the export thereof within three years after import, there shall be allowed and repaid a drawback of equal amount to the duties respectively charged hereby on the import of such speckle wood.

That for and upon all beaver skins of the produce of the British plantations in America, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate

of 9s. 0½d. for every five score of skins, and so in proportion for any greater or less number, in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, duties and excise payable thereon, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all beaver wool cut and combed, the produce and manufacture of said plantations, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 17s. 10½d. for every pound weight thereof, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise payable thereon by any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; and that the said duty shall be fully drawn back and repaid on due exportation thereof within three years after importation.

That for and upon all cotton wool of the growth or produce of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in any other than British or Irish shipping, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 5l. 19s. 2d. for every 100l. value thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less value, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and custom payable on the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon all beaver wombs which shall have been imported from the said plantations or settlements, and which shall be afterwards exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 9l. 0s. 6½d. for five pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and custom payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That for and upon every piece of white woollen cloth, called broad cloth, of the manufacture of Ireland, which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, to any of the said plantations or settlements, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty of 5s. 11½d. and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and custom payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament made in this kingdom, except the alnage duty.

That from and after the 25th day of March, 1788, no custom, subsidy or duty whatsoever, shall be payable on the export to any place whatsoever of logwood of the growth or produce of the British settlements in America or the West Indies, provided the same be exported in British or Irish shipping, nor upon lead ore exported to Great Britain.

That the several subsidies, duties and customs, except the alnage duties heretofore payable upon the export of any goods and merchandizes of the growth, product and manufacture of this kingdom be taken off, except on skins, hides of all sorts, coney-hair or wool, hares wool, hair of all sorts, horns, live cattle of all sorts, ashes, bacon, beef, pork, butter, grease, guts, hogs lard, tallow, tongues, bones not manufactured, flax-seed, hemp-seed, linen yarn, linen rags or shreds, rape cakes, soapers waste or other manure, tin unwrought, weld, wax or woad, and provisions of all sorts.

That no subsidy, custom or duty whatsoever shall be raised, levied or paid on the export of any goods or merchandizes, the product or manufacture of this kingdom, to the British plantations in America, the West Indies or the British settlements on the coast of Africa, except on the several articles mentioned in the foregoing resolution, and on iron and iron wares, leather tanned, dressed or tawed, shreds and points of leather, pelts, vellum and parchment, soap, hops, allum, lead, lead ore, copperas, coals, wool cards, white woollen cloth, lapis calaminaris, glue and litharge of lead.

That from and after the 25th day of March, 1788, no custom, duties or subsidy whatever shall be payable on the importation of any wood called ebony, being the growth or product of Africa, imported directly from thence or from Great Britain; any unwrought timber, or timber lumber, of the growth or produce of America or the West Indies; any wrought timber not being a mast, yard or bowsprit; any wood or plank being the growth or produce of America or the West Indies, and imported from thence or Great Britain; any cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, Brazil or Fernambuca wood, logwood, braziletto or Jamaica wood, Nicaragua wood, red or Guinea wood, Sapan wood, mahogany or other wood, the product of America or the West Indies; any wood for dyers use imported from any place, except speckle wood of the growth of Africa; any whale fins, train oil or blubber, the produce of whales taken or caught in any part of the ocean by and imported in any ship or vessel belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, or the Isle of Man; any raw or undressed goat skins imported in British or Irish ships navigated according to law from any port or place whatever; any raw or undressed seal skins taken by the crews of vessels belonging to and fitted out from this kingdom, Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey or the Isle of Man, whereof the captain or master and three-fourths of the mariners at the least are his Majesty's subjects, or by persons employed by the master or owner of such vessels; any raw silk of the growth or culture of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America; any pig or bar iron made in America, and imported from thence

or from Great Britain; any sago powder or vermicelli imported from America or Great Britain, being the produce of America; any raw or undressed hides of steers, cows or other cattle whatever, except of horses, mares or geldings, imported from America or from Great Britain, being the produce of America; or any undressed hemp or flax, being the produce of Great Britain, and imported from thence; or any undressed hemp or flax from any place whatever; any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

That all goods, wares and merchandizes imported from the British settlements on the coast of Africa shall pay the same and no other duties as the like goods imported from the British plantations in America shall be subject to, except where it is otherwise particularly provided; and that a like amount of duty be drawn back on their exportation from this kingdom.

That from and after the 25th day of March, 1788, all duties whatever paid on the importation of any calicoes or muslins shall be fully drawn back and repaid on due exportation to any British settlement on the coast of Africa; and if such callico be exported to Africa without having been printed, stained, painted or dyed in Great Britain, the exporter shall be paid, over and above the said duties, after the rate of 2l. 3s. 4d. for every 100l. value thereof, according to the gross price at which such goods shall have been publicly sold at the East India Company's sales, and so in proportion for any greater or less value; and if such calicoes be exported to any British plantation in America or the West Indies, without having been printed, painted, stained or dyed in Great Britain, so much of the duties paid on the importation shall be retained as shall amount to 2l. 19s. 7d. upon every such 100l. value thereof, according to the gross price at which such shall have been publicly sold at the East India Company's sales, and so in proportion for any greater or less value; and if such calicoes shall have been printed, stained, painted or dyed in Great Britain, and shall be exported to the British plantations in America or the West Indies, so much of the duties paid on importation shall be retained as shall amount to 5l. 2s. 11d. upon every 100l. value thereof, according to the gross price at which such goods shall have been publicly sold at the East India Company's sales, and so in proportion for any greater or less value.

That on the exportation of tea to any British colony or plantation in America or the West Indies, within three years from the importation thereof, the exporter shall receive a drawback of the whole of the duties paid upon the importation thereof; and on the exportation of tea to any British settlement on the coast of Africa, so much of the duties paid upon importation shall be retained as shall amount to 13l. 10s. 10d. upon every 100l. value thereof, according to the gross price at which such tea shall have

been publicly sold at the East India Company's sales; and if the duties paid on the importation of such teas do not amount to the said sum of 13l. 10s. 10d. for every such 100l. value, the exporter thereof shall pay a duty, which with the duties paid upon the importation, shall amount to the said sum of 13s. 10s. 10d. for every such 100l. value, the exporter thereof shall pay a duty, which with the duties paid upon the importation, shall amount to the said sum of 13l. 10s. 10d. for every such 100l. value.

That for and upon the several articles mentioned in the annexed schedule, No. I. of the growth, product or manufacture of any of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, and which shall be imported thence or from Great Britain, during the time aforesaid, the several duties respectively set forth in the said schedule, upon the respective quantities contained and expressed in the said schedule; and upon the exportation of the goods, wares and merchandizes, the growth, product or manufacture of this kingdom, mentioned in the said schedule, to any of the said British colonies or plantations, the several duties in the said schedule mentioned, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise payable thereon by virtue of any law or laws heretofore made in this kingdom; and that upon the export of any such goods within three years after import, the several drawbacks in the said schedule mentioned, and no other, shall be respectively allowed and repaid to the person or persons exporting the same.

That for and upon every gallon of foreign spirits mentioned in the annexed schedule, No. II. which shall be exported from this kingdom to any British colony or plantation in America or the West Indies, or to any British settlement on the coast of Africa, during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid the several duties respectively set forth in the said schedule.

That the several and respective drawbacks mentioned in the annexed schedules, No. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. shall be allowed and paid to any merchant or trader duly exporting the several wines in the said schedules respectively mentioned, for every tun of such wines, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

S C H E D U L E, No. I.

A Schedule of the net duties payable upon the importation into this kingdom of the several articles following, of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, whether imported directly from the said Plantations or from Great Britain; and the drawbacks to be allowed on the exportation thereof from this kingdom; also the net du-

ries payable on the exportation of goods, wares and merchandize of the growth, product or manufacture of this kingdom, to the said British plantations.

SKINS and FURS, viz.	Duty on importation from America or the West Indies.			Duty on importation from Great Britain, and drawback on exportation.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Armin, or Ermin skins, undressed, the timber, containing 40 skins	—	11	11	—	10	10
Badger skins, undressed, the piece	—	—	7 $\frac{7}{12}$	—	—	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bear skins, white, undressed, the piece	—	11	11	—	10	10
Bear skins of any other colour, undressed, the piece	—	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	5	5
Beaver wombs, the piece	—	—	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—
Buck or deer skins, undressed, the skin	—	—	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	8 $\frac{1}{8}$
Buck or deer skins, Indian, half dressed, the pound	—	—	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Calabar skins, tawed, the timber, containing 40 skins	—	2	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	2	2
Calabar skins, untawed or undressed, the timber, containing 40 skins	—	1	11 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	1	9 $\frac{2}{3}$
Calve skins, tanned, the pound	—	—	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	—	—
Cat skins, undressed, the hundred skins	—	11	11	—	10	10
Coney skins, the dozen	—	—	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Deer skins, vide buck skins.						
Dog fish skins, undressed, the dozen	—	2	2	—	1	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Dog skins, undressed, the piece	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Elk skins, undressed, the skin	—	1	9 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ermin, vide Armin.						
Fisher skins, undressed, the piece	—	1	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Fitches, undressed, the timber, containing 40 skins	—	3	11 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fox skins, black, undressed, the skin	2	19	7	2	14	2
Fox skins, of all other sorts, undressed, the skin	—	—	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Goat skins, tanned, the dozen	1	1	8	—	—	—
Hare skins, undressed, the 120 skins	—	—	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	10 $\frac{5}{8}$
Husse skins, undressed, the skin	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	1 $\frac{4}{8}$
Kid skins, dressed, the hundred containing 5 score	1	6	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	12	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Kid skins, in the hair, the hundred, containing 5 score	1	—	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	6	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lamb skins, undressed, in the wool, the 120	—	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$

SKINS and FURS, viz.

Duty on im-
portation
from Ame-
rica or the
West Indies.Duty on im-
portation
from Great
Britain, and
drawback on
exportation.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Lamb skins, dressed in allum, the hundred, containing 5 score	—	15	10 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	6	3 $\frac{5}{8}$
Lamb skins, dressed in oil, the hundred, containing 5 score	2	3	8 $\frac{1}{3}$	1	3	5 $\frac{3}{8}$
Slink lamb skins, undressed, in the wool, the 120	—	1	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Leopard skins, undressed, the piece	—	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	6	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lion skins, undressed, the piece	—	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Martins, or Martrons, undressed, the timber, containing 40 skins	2	19	7	2	14	2
Martins, or Martrons tails, undressed, the 120	—	11	11	—	10	10
Mink skins, tawed, the timber, containing 40 skins	1	3	10	1	1	8
Mink skins, untawed or undressed, the timber, containing 40 skins	—	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	16	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mole skins, undressed, the dozen	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	1 $\frac{5}{8}$
Moose skins, undressed, the piece	—	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Musquash skins, undressed, the hundred skins	—	14	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	13	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Otter skins, undressed, the piece	—	1	6 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ounce skins, undressed, the piece	—	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	3	4 $\frac{5}{8}$
Panther skins, undressed, the piece	—	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	5	5
Pelts of goats, dressed, the dozen	—	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pelts of goats, undressed, the dozen	—	1	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Pelts of all other sorts, undressed, the hundred	—	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	8	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Raccoon skins, undressed, the 100 skins	—	14	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	13	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sables, undressed, the timber, containing 40 skins	8	18	9	8	2	6
Sables tails, or tips of sable, undressed, the piece	—	—	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sheep skins, undressed, in the wool, the dozen	—	—	10 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	—	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sheep skins, dressed in oil, the dozen	—	5	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sheep skins, otherwise dressed, the dozen	—	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	1	9 $\frac{3}{8}$
Squirrel skins, undressed, vide Calabar skins	—	—	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Swan skins, undressed, the piece	—	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tyger skins, undressed, the piece	—	—	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	10 $\frac{1}{8}$
Weasel skins, undressed, the 120	—	—	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	10 $\frac{1}{8}$

H I D E S, viz.	Duty on im- portation from Ame- rica or the West Indies.			Duty on im- portation from Great Britain, and drawback on exportation.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Wolf skins, tawed, the piece	—	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	8	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wolf skins, untawed or undressed, the piece	—	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	6	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wolverings, undressed, the skin	—	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cow or ox hides, tanned, the pound	—	—	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
Elk, vide skins.						
Of horses, mares, or geldings, in the hair, the piece	—	—	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—	8 $\frac{2}{3}$
—, tanned, the pound	—	—	5 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	—	—
Indian hides, undressed, the piece	—	1	3	—	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Losh hides, the pound	—	—	10 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	—	—
Gum arabic, or gum Senega, the hundred weight	—	—	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
Cotton Wool	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indigo	—	—	—	—	—	—
Molasses, the hundred weight	—	3	3	—	2	10 $\frac{2}{3}$
Pitch { the last, containing 12 bar- rels, each barrel not ex- ceeding 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons	—	11	11	—	10	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Tar { 6 inches in diameter, and under 8 inches, the mast	—	1	2 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	1	1
Masts { 8 inches in diameter, and under 12 inches, the mast	—	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	—	7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	6	8 $\frac{1}{8}$
	—	7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	6	8 $\frac{1}{8}$
Yards and bowsprits to pay as masts.						
Turpentine, the hundred weight	—	2	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iron unwrought, the ton	3	—	10 $\frac{1}{8}$	2	17	—
Rice, the hundred weight, contain- ing 112 lb.	—	7	11 $\frac{1}{3}$	—	7	11 $\frac{1}{3}$
Ginger, the hundred weight, con- taining 112 lb.	—	11	11	—	11	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pimento, the pound	—	—	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pot Ashes { imported with proper certificates, free ; Pearl Ashes { but on failure there- of, hundred weight	—	2	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—	—
Hops, the hundred weight	—	6	8	4	10	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Copper ore, the hundred weight	—	—	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Raw Silk, imported with proper certificates, free.						
Beaver wool, free.						

		Duty on im- portation from Ame- rica or the West Indies.			Duty on im- portation from Great Britain, and drawback on exporta- tion.			
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Beaver Wool, cut and combed, the pound		—	17	10½	—	—	—	
Wood	Brazil or Fernambuck wood for dyers use, the hundred weight	—	6	3½	—	—	—	
	Braziletto or Jamaica wood, for dyers use, the hundred weight	—	3	10½	—	—	—	
	Fustick, for dyers use, the hundred weight	—	—	10½	—	—	—	
	Logwood, for dyers use, the hundred weight	—	11	11	—	—	—	
	Nicaragua wood, for dyers use, the hundred weight	—	1	5½	—	—	—	
	Red or Guinea wood, for dyers use, the hundred weight	—	3	6½	—	—	—	
	Wood for dyers use, not otherwise rated, the hundred weight	—	1	9½	—	—	—	
	But if regularly imported, entered and landed, du- ty free							
Train oil, or Blubber, or fish oil of British or Irish fishing, viz.								
Of Greenland, and parts adjacent, the ton, containing 252 gallons		—	1	18	2¼	1	13	10¼
Of Greenland, and parts adjacent, taken by any shipping belonging to his Majesty's colonies or plan- tations, and imported in such shipping, the ton, containing 252 gallons		—	16	8½	—	13	5½	
Of Greenland, and parts adjacent, taken by any shipping belonging to his Majesty's colonies or plan- tations, and imported in shipping belonging to Great Britain or Ire- land, the ton, containing 252 gal- lons		—	13	2½	—	11	5½	
Of Newfoundland, and like sort, the ton, containing 252 gallons		1	8	7½	1	5	4½	
Of Newfoundland, and like sort, taken by shipping belonging to								

Duty on im- portation from Ame- rica or the West Indies.	Duty on im- portation from Great Britain, and drawback on exportation.
--	---

£. s. d.

£. s. d.

any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations, and imported in such shipping, the ton, containing 252 gallons - - -

— 14 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ — 11 — $\frac{1}{8}$

Of Newfoundland, and like sort, taken by shipping belonging to any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations, and imported in shipping belonging to Great Britain or Ireland, the ton, containing 252 gallons - - -

— 10 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 9 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Oil, head matter, or other produce of whales or other creatures living in the seas, taken and caught in any part of the ocean by the crew of any ship or vessel built in Great Britain, Ireland, or the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, or Man, wholly owned by his Majesty's subjects usually residing therein respectively, may, on importation, be admitted to entry, and landed without payment of any duty whatever

W H A L E F I N S, V I Z.

Of British or Irish fishing, imported in ships belonging to any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight - - -

2 19 7 1 12 6

Of British or Irish fishing, imported in shipping belonging to Great Britain or Ireland, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight - - -

1 9 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 16 3

Fins of whales, taken and caught in any part of the ocean by the crew of any ship or vessel built in Great Britain, Ireland, or the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, or Man, wholly owned by his Majesty's subjects usually residing therein respectively, are, upon importa-

Duty on im- portation from Ame- rica or the West Indies.	Duty on im- portation from Great Britain, and drawback on exportation.
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tion, to be admitted to entry, and
landed without payment of any
duty whatever.

£. s. d. £. s. d.

O U T W A R D S.

Hides, calve skins, kip skins, tanned or tawed, and not dressed in oil, and sheep skins tanned for gloves, or basil, the hundred weight	—	—	6	12
Hides dressed in oil, the hundred weight	1	1	3	2

S K I N S, v i z.

Calve skins, dressed in oil, the hundred weight	1	8	—	1
Black coney skins, with or without silver hair, for every 6 score skins	—	—	2	10 2
Goat skins, tawed, the hundred, containing 6 score	1	1	8	
Goat skins, tanned with sumack, to resemble Spanish leather	{	for every 6 score skins—	10	—
	{	for every pound weight—	—	4 1
	{	the hundred, containing 6 score	2	8 1
Lamb skins	{	tawed, and not tanned or dressed in oil, the hun- dred weight	4	2 1
	{	tanned for gloves or basil, the hundred weight	5	— 3
	{	dressed in oil, the hun- dred weight	10	1 1
Sheep skins	{	tawed, and not tanned or dressed in oil, the hundred weight	5	3 1
	{	tanned for roans, and not dressed in oil, the hundred weight	7	9 5
	{	dressed in oil, the hundred weight	11	2 1
Pelts, the hundred, containing 5 score	—	—	3	7 1

S C H E D U L E, No. II.

A schedule of the additional duties to be paid per gallon, on
the exportation of foreign spirits to the British colonies or plan-
tations in America or Africa, over and above the duty paid on
the importation thereof.

For every gallon of single rum or spirits of the produce of the British colonies or plantations	—	—	10 5
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For every gallon of single brandy or geneva, or foreign rum	— —	5 $\frac{1}{3}$
For every gallon of cordial water, strong water, or other spirits, single	— —	8 $\frac{1}{10}$
For every gallon of rum or spirits of the British colonies or plantations, above proof, so much in addition to the duties paid on import as will amount in the whole to	— 7	2 $\frac{2}{3}$
For every gallon of brandy, geneva, or foreign rum, above proof, so much in addition to the duties paid on import as will amount in the whole to	— 8	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
For every gallon of cordial water, strong water, or other spirits, above proof, so much in addition to the duties paid on import as will amount in the whole to	— 9	— $\frac{1}{2}$
All pieces or parts of skins, tawed or tanned, and not dressed in oil, for every twenty shillings value thereof, on oath	— 3	—
All pieces or parts of skins dressed in oil, for every twenty shillings value thereof, on oath	— 2	—
And besides, the hundred weight	— 6	2 $\frac{2}{3}$
Fur, called grey rabbit fur, or coney hair, the pound	— —	3 $\frac{7}{10}$
Kids hair, for every twenty shillings value thereof, on oath	— 1	—
Parchment, the dozen	— 1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vellum, the dozen	— 3	3
Lapis calaminaris, the ton	— 2	2

SCHEDULE, No. III.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of French wine exported to the British colonies or plantations in America and the West Indies, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants, for sale, filled or unfilled, having been imported in British, Irish or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.											
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.									
£.	s.	d.	20ths.	£.	s.	d.	20ths.	£.	s.	d.	20ths.	£.	s.	d.	20ths.
31	4	6	4	28	16	2	12	27	18	—	4	25	7	3	4

SCHEDULE, No. IV.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of French wine exported to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants for

sale, filled or unfilled, having been imported in British, Irish, or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof.—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all other drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.			
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.	
£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.
16	13 7 14	14	5 4 2	13	7 1 14	10	16 4 14

SCHEDULE, No. V.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of Rhenish, Germany or Hungary wine, exported to the British plantations or colonies in America or the West Indies, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants for sale, filled or unfilled, in British, Irish or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof.—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and satisfaction of all drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.			
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.	
£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.
25	12 — 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	3 9 5 $\frac{8}{25}$	22	12 6 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	1 1 9 $\frac{8}{25}$

SCHEDULE, No. VI.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of Rhenish, Germany or Hungary wine, exported to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants for sale, filled or unfilled, in British, Irish or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof.—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and satisfaction of all drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.			
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.	
£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.
11	1 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	12 10 15 $\frac{8}{25}$	8	1 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	10 2 19 $\frac{8}{25}$

SCHEDULE, No. VII.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of Portugal or Madeira Wine, Spanish and Canary wine, and all other wine of the dominions of Spain, exported to the British colonies or plantations in America and the West Indies, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants for sale, filled or unfilled, in British, Irish or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof.

—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.			
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.	
£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.
19	14 1 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	18	3 5 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	17	9 — —	15	16 9 6 $\frac{2}{3}$

SCHEDULE, No. VIII.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of Portugal or Madeira wine, Spanish and Canary wine, and all other wine of the dominions of Spain, exported to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants for sale, filled or unfilled, in British, Irish or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof.—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.			
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.	
£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.
10	— 2 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	8	9 6 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	8	5 1 —	6	2 10 6 $\frac{2}{3}$

SCHEDULE, No. IX.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of all other wine exported to the British colonies or plantations in America and the West Indies, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants for sale, filled or unfilled, in British, Irish or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof.—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.			
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.	
£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.
27	7 10 1 $\frac{7}{8}$	24	18 6 6 $\frac{7}{8}$	26	2 2 1 $\frac{7}{8}$	23	9 3 19 $\frac{7}{8}$

SCHEDULE, No. X.

A schedule of the drawbacks upon every ton of all other wine exported to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, according as the same has been imported by wholesale merchants for sale, filled or unfilled, in British, Irish or foreign shipping, if regularly exported within three years after the importation thereof.—The said drawbacks to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all drawbacks.

Having been imported in British or Irish shipping.				Having been imported in foreign shipping.			
Filled.		Unfilled.		Filled.		Unfilled.	
£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.	£.	s. d. 20ths.
17	13 11 1 $\frac{7}{8}$	15	4 6 19 $\frac{7}{8}$	16	8 3 1 $\frac{7}{8}$	13	15 4 19 $\frac{7}{8}$

That bounties ought to be given on all plain Irish linens and on all Irish linens and Irish calicoes, and cotton mixed with linen, printed, painted, stained or dyed in this kingdom, being the breadth of twenty-five inches or more, and not exceeding when plain and unpainted, unstained, unprinted or undyed, the value of 1s. 7½d. per yard; and also on Irish diapers and huckabacks, sheetings and other linens above yard wide, and not exceeding 1s. 7½d. the square yard in value, which shall be exported from this kingdom to Africa, America, the West Indies, Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar or Minorca, between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, inclusive, after the rates following, that is to say; a bounty of ½d. per yard for all under the value as aforesaid of 5d. per yard; and a bounty of 1d. per yard for all of the value of 5d. and under 6d. the yard; and a bounty of 1½d. per yard for all of the value of 6d. and under the value of 1s. 7½d. the yard; and a bounty of ½d. per yard for all chequed and striped linen not exceeding 1s. 7½d. nor under 7d. per yard in value; and a bounty of 1½d. for every square yard of diapers, huckabacks, sheetings, and other linens upwards of a yard in breadth, not exceeding 1s. 7½d. the square yard in value; and a bounty of 6½d. for every three ells of Irish made sail-cloth or canvas fit for or made into sails, which shall be exported by way of merchandize to any place except Great Britain, France, or the French dominions in Europe, during the time aforesaid, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantities; the value of all such linen, if painted, stained, stamped or dyed, or of such calicoes and cottons mixed with linen, whereupon they are to be respectively intitled to the bounties aforesaid, to be deemed their value when in a plain state, and exclusive of such painting, staining, stamping or dying.

That in order to encourage the growth of flax seed in this kingdom it will be expedient to discontinue all bounties on the import of foreign seed, and to give bounties to encourage the cultivation of it at home.

That there be raised, levied, collected and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time aforesaid, an additional impost or duty after the rate of 5l. per centum on the produce or amount of the duties payable on all teas and wines imported, except wines of the growth of Spain, Portugal or Madeira, and of France, or the French dominions in Europe, and on the amount of the customs inwards, import excise, additional and other duties, which shall be due and payable to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time aforesaid, and which shall be collected in this kingdom for and upon any goods and merchandizes imported into the same, except upon tobaccoes, hops and sugars, and the several goods or merchandizes of the product or manufacture of the British colonies in America or the West Indies, or the British settlements on the coast of Africa, whereon

any duties are imposed or altered this session of Parliament : and also except the following articles, being of the growth, produce or manufacture of France, or the French dominions in Europe, viz. beer, hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware and turnery ; manufactures of iron, steel, copper and brass ; cottons, woollens, knit and wove hosiery, cambricks and lawns, linens made of flax or hemp, sadlery, gauzes ; millinery made of muslin, lawn, cambric or gauze ; porcelain, earthen-ware, pottery, glass and glass ware.

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty there be paid a duty of 1s. on every entry inwards which shall be made in the port of Dublin between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, and no longer, except post entries and entries of coals, over and above all other duties or fees payable by any law or usage for the same.

That there be paid for every advertisement to be contained or published in any gazette, newspaper, journal or daily accounts, to be published weekly or oftener, or in any other printed paper or pamphlet whatever, being dispersed or made public yearly, monthly or at any other interval of time, within the time aforesaid, a duty of 1s. and a further duty for the same after the rate of 1s. for every ten lines which such advertisement shall contain over and above the first ten lines ; and for and upon every pamphlet or paper not exceeding six sheets in octavo or in a lesser page, and not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto or twenty sheets in folio so printed, a duty after the rate of 2s. for every sheet of any kind of paper which shall be contained in one printed copy or impression thereof.

That for and upon all insurances for insuring houses, furniture, goods, wares, merchandizes, or other property from loss by fire, which shall be made at any time between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, inclusive, a duty be paid after the rate of 1s. for every 100l. insured thereby.

That for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed the articles mentioned in the schedule hereunto annexed, there shall be paid during the time aforesaid the several duties respectively annexed to the several articles contained in the said schedule.

A schedule of the several duties to be paid on every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper on which shall be engrossed or written or printed any of the articles, matters or things therein set forth.

For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper on which shall be engrossed or written or printed the following articles, the duties following shall be respectively paid,

	£.	s.	d.
Any license to keep a lottery office —	100	—	—
Any dispensation to hold two ecclesiastical dignities or benefices, or both a dignity and a benefice, or any other dispensation or faculty from the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, or master of the faculties for the time being — —	9	—	—
Any grant or letters patent under the great seal of Ireland of any honour, dignity, promotion, franchise, liberty or privilege, to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, or exemplification of the same; commissions of rebellion in process always excepted — —	9	—	—
Any grant from his Majesty, his heirs or successors, of any sum of money exceeding 200l. which shall pass the great seal of Ireland — —	9	—	—
Any grant of any office or employment which shall be above the value of 200l. per annum —	9	—	—
Any admission of any fellow of the College of Physicians, or of any clerk, advocate, proctor, notary, or other officer or officers in any court whatsoever, except such officer be an annual officer in any corporation or inferior court, whose office is under the value of 10l. a year in salary, fees or other perquisites, or any appeal from the Court of Admiralty, or the prerogative court, or any archiepiscopal court	6	—	—
Any admission of any student into the Society of the King's Inns — —	5	—	—
Any admission of any barrister into the inns of court	5	—	—
Any pardon (except the pardons passed in forma pauperis) of or for any crime or office, or of any money or forfeiture whatsoever, or any warrant or reprieve, relaxation from any fines, corporal punishment or other forfeiture — —	4	—	—
Any grant from his Majesty, his heirs or successors, of any sum of money not exceeding 200l. nor less than 100l. which shall pass the great seal of Ireland.	4	—	—
Any grant of any office or employment which shall be above the value of 50l. per annum, and under the value of 200l. per annum — —	4	—	—
Any grant of lands in fee, lease for years or other grant or profit, not herein particularly charged, that shall pass the great seal of the Exchequer (custodiam leases excepted) — —	3	—	—

Any presentation or donation which shall pass the great seal of Ireland, or upon which any collation to be made by any archbishop or bishop, or any presentation or donation to be made by any patron whatever of or to any benefice, dignity, or spiritual or ecclesiastical promotion whatsoever of the value of 100l.	£. s. d.	3 — —
And if of the value of 200l. a year or upwards, the value to be ascertained by certificate of the archbishop or vicar general of the diocese; provided always that two or more benefices episcopally united shall be deemed and taken to be one benefice only		6 — —
Any indenture for binding an apprentice to an attorney		2 — —
Any admission of any attorney into every court into which he shall be admitted an attorney		— 4 — —
Any commission that shall be issued from any court whatsoever for taking affidavits		— — 1 — —
Any exemplification of what nature soever that shall pass the seal of any court whatsoever		— — 15 —
Any institution that shall pass the seal of any archbishop, bishop, chancellor or other ordinary or ecclesiastical court whatsoever, provided that an institution to two or more benefices episcopally united shall be considered as an institution to a single benefice		— — 15 —
Any conveyance, surrender of grants or offices, release or other deed whatsoever, which shall be enrolled of record in any of the courts of the city of Dublin, or in any other court of record whatsoever		— 7 6
Any exemplification of a decree of the court of Chancery under the great seal		— — 7 6
Any sentence that shall be given in the Court of Admiralty, or any attachment that shall be made out of the said Court of Admiralty, or any relaxation of any such attachment		— — 7 6
Any writ of covenant for levying a fine		— — 7 6
Any writ of entry for suffering a common recovery		— 7 6
Any commission issuing out of any ecclesiastical court not herein before particularly charged		— — 7 6
Any warrant, monition or personal decree in the Court of Admiralty, except in suits for payment of seamen's wages		— — 7 6
Any probate of a will or letters of administration for any estate above the value of 30l. and not of the value of 100l.		— — — —

If of the value of 100l. and not of the value of 300l.	—	10	—
If of the value of 300l. and not of the value of 600l.	1	—	—
If of the value of 600l. and not of the value of 1000l.	1	10	—
If of the value of 1000l. and upwards	—	2	—
Any writ of error, certiorari or appeal, except to the delegates	—	—	5 —
Any receipt or other discharge for any legacy left by any will or other testamentary instrument; or for any share or part of a personal estate divided by force of the statute of distributions, the amount whereof shall not exceed 20l. except such legacies as shall be left to the wife, children or grand children of the person making such will or testamentary instrument, or shall be divided amongst them by force of the said statute	—	—	2 6
Where the amount thereof shall be of the value of 20l. and not amounting to 100l. except as aforesaid	—	5	—
Where the amount thereof shall be of the value of 100l. and upwards, except as aforesaid	—	1	—
Any recognizance conditioned for the payment of money or performance of covenants or agreements, statute staple or statute merchant, or entered of record in any court or office, except such recognizances as shall be entered into by persons applying for licenses to sell by retail beer, ale, wine, strong waters or other liquors, which recognizances shall be considered as bonds, and shall pay accordingly	—	—	5 —
Any record of nisi prius or postea	—	—	5 —
Every judgment whatsoever which shall be signed by the master of any office, or his deputy or secondary, or by any prothonotary or his secondary, deputy or clerk, or any other officer belonging to any of the courts of the city of Dublin who have power or usually do or shall sign judgments	—	—	5 —
Any bill, answer, replication, rejoinder, interrogatories, depositions taken by commissioners, or any pleadings whatsoever in the courts of Chancery or Exchequer, save and except exceptions to answers filed in the said courts	—	—	2 6
Any indenture, lease or deed poll not otherwise charged, except indentures of apprenticeship where no apprentice fee shall be given, or if any be given, such apprentice fee shall not exceed the sum of 10l. and also except indentures for binding poor parish			

or other poor children, supported by public or private charities, and also except indentures binding apprentices to attornies — — — 2 6

Any charter party, policy of insurance, passport, or any protest, procuration, letter of attorney, except warrants of attorney for judgments on bonds, or any other notarial act whatsoever — — — 2 6

Every pamphlet or paper not exceeding six sheets in octavo, or not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto, or twenty sheets in folio, which shall be contained in one printed copy — — — 2 —

Any admission into any corporation or company — — — 2 —

Any decree or dismissal made by or in the courts of Chancery or Exchequer — — — 1 6

Any writ of Habeas Corpus — — — 1 —

Any special bail to be taken in any of the courts of the city of Dublin, or before any of the judges of the said courts, or in any court whatsoever — — — 1 —

Any common bail to be filed in any court whatsoever, and any appearance that shall be made on such bail — — — 1 —

Any affidavit, except such affidavits as shall be taken before the officers of his Majesty's customs or excise, or any justice or justices of the peace, or before a magistrate of any corporation acting as a justice of the peace, or acting in any court of conscience, or of summary jurisdiction, or before any judge of assize or commissioner of oyer and terminer, relative to prosecutions on trials or indictments, or to civil bills, or that shall be made for the purpose of raising or accounting for public money, and except affidavits made relative to the hempen and linen manufactures, or to the payment of corn premiums, or made before the trustees of any turnpike relative to the roads or tolls of such turnpikes, or affidavits made before the Dublin Society — — — 1 —

Any copy of such affidavit which shall be read in any court whatsoever — — — 2

Any original writ (except such original upon which a writ of capias issues) subpœna, writ of capias quo minus, writ of dedimus protestatem to take answers, examine witnesses or appoint guardians, or any other writ whatsoever, or any other process or mandate that shall issue out of or pass the seal of any of the courts of the city of Dublin, or any other court whatsoever holding plea where the debt or

damage doth amount to 40s. or above, or the thing in demand is of that value	—	—	—	£. s. d. — 1 —
Any entry of any action in the mayor's or sheriffs courts of the city of Dublin, and in courts in all corporations and other courts whatsoever, out of which no writs, process or mandate issue, holding plea where the debt or damage doth amount to 40s. or above	—	—	—	— 1 —
Any rule or order, except in causes prosecuted upon indictments, or which relate to presentments made or given in any of the courts at the city of Dublin, either courts of law or equity, which shall be taken out	—	—	—	— 1 —
Any copy of such rules or orders, except in causes prosecuted upon indictments, or which relate to presentments entered, or the copies of any other record or proceedings in any of the said courts of the said city of Dublin, not hereby otherwise charged	—	—	—	— 1 —
Any citation or monition made in the Prerogative court, or in any ecclesiastical court, or any libel or allegation, deposition, answer, sentence or decree, or any inventory exhibited in the Prerogative court, in any Ecclesiastical court, or in the court of Admiralty, or whereupon any copies of them respectively shall be engrossed or written (except in suits for recovery of seamen's wages)	—	—	—	— 1 —
Any warrant of attorney for entering judgment on any bond	—	—	—	— 1 —
Any release, contract, bond, or other obligatory instrument	—	—	—	— 1 —
Any memorial of any deed, conveyance, will or devise, which shall be registered in the public office for registering such memorials, above all duties payable thereon	—	—	—	— 1 —
Each and every exception or exceptions to any answer filed in any court of equity in this kingdom	—	—	—	— 1 —
And a further duty for the same, after the rate of 1s. for every ninety words which each and every such exception shall contain, over and above the first ninety words	—	—	—	— 1 —
And a further duty upon each and every such exception, over and above the first ten exceptions	—	—	—	— 2 6
And a further duty for the same, after the rate of 2s. 6d. for every ninety words which each and every				

such exception shall contain, over and above the first ninety words	—	—	—	£. s. d. — 2 6
Any copy of any will attested by the proper officer of the Prerogative court, or any ecclesiastical court	—	—	—	2
Any insurance of a lottery ticket	—	—	—	6
Any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleadings whatsoever, in any court of law, or any copy thereof	—	—	—	2
Any depositions taken in the court of Chancery or court of Exchequer (except the paper drafts of such depositions taken by virtue of any commission before they are engrossed) which are not herein-before charged	—	—	—	1
Any copy of any bill, answer, plea, demurrer, replication, rejoinder, interrogatories, depositions, or other proceedings whatsoever, taken in the court of Chancery or court of Exchequer, or in any court of equity	—	—	—	1
Every almanack or calendar for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be printed on one side only of any one sheet or piece of paper only	—	—	—	1
Every other almanack or calendar for any one particular year	—	—	—	2
Every almanack or calendar made to serve for several years, the respective rates of 1d.	—	—	—	1
And 2d. shall be paid for every such year, as aforesaid	—	—	—	2
Every Dublin Directory	—	—	—	2
Every paper containing public news, intelligence or occurrence	—	—	—	1
Any instrument, entitling any person or persons exporting any goods, wares or merchandizes, to any drawback or bounty on exporting the same	—	—	—	1
Any licence for retailing wine, beer, ale, spirits or cider	—	—	—	1

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare and bring in one or more bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means and the resolutions of the committee of supply, to insert clauses in such bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means reported this day.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, for securing the repayment of so much of the several sums therein to be mentioned, which have been advanced at an interest not exceeding 4l. per centum per annum, or shall be advanced at an interest not exceeding 3l. 10s. per centum per annum, or for which lottery debentures have issued for payment of the prizes in the lotteries heretofore established as shall remain unpaid on the 25th day of March, 1788.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that such surplus as there shall be on the 25th day of March, 1788, of the duties heretofore granted for the payment of the principal and interest of the loan, and payment of the annuities granted for the several sums of money borrowed pursuant to several acts of Parliament, shall be applied, after payment of all interest due on said debentures, treasury bills and annuities, in paying the principal of loan debentures.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the additional duty of 10d. a gallon for every gallon of aqua vitæ, strong-waters or spirits made or distilled within this kingdom for sale; the additional duty of 8d. per gallon on imported brandy, strong-waters or spirits perfectly made; the additional duty on foreign spirits above the quality of single spirits; the further additional duty of 10d. for every gallon of rum or other spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America; the further additional duty of 1s. 8d. on all brandy, geneva or other spirits imported, except spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America; and the additional duty of 6d. per pack on all playing cards made in this kingdom, be applied, in the first place, to pay an interest at the rate of 4l. per centum per annum for such part of the several sums formerly borrowed and carrying such interest as shall remain unpaid on the 25th day of March, 1788; and in the next place, towards payment of an annuity of 24,000l. a year to the governor and company of the bank of Ireland; and in the next place, towards payment of the annuities for the several sums of 26,500l. and 175,000l. and 300,000l. granted by several acts of Parliament heretofore passed; and in the next place, towards payment of the expences which shall or may be incurred by sending or remitting from time to time such of the said several annuities to the city of London as are or shall be made payable there; and in the next place, towards payment of an interest after the rate of 4l. per centum per annum for such of the debentures which have been issued out of his Majesty's treasury for the payment of the prizes of the lotteries heretofore established, as shall remain unpaid on the 25th day of March, 1788; and in the next place,

towards payment of an interest after the rate of 3d. by the day for each 100l. for the several principal sums heretofore borrowed and due upon treasury bills, and which shall remain unpaid on the 25th day of March, 1788; and in the next place, towards payment of such annuities as have been granted in pursuance of an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of his Majesty's reign, for effectuating the raising of the sum of 200,000l. therein mentioned; and in the next place, towards payment of an interest at the rate of 3l. 10s. per centum per annum for the sum of 200,000l. borrowed upon debentures, pursuant to an act of the last session of Parliament; and in the next place, towards payment of an interest at the rate of 2½d. by the day for each 100l. of 100,000l. raised by treasury bills, in pursuance of the said act; and in the next place, towards payment of an interest not exceeding 2½d. by the day on such treasury bills, and 3l. 10s. per cent. per annum on such debentures as shall or may be issued to the persons who shall respectively subscribe on loan by treasury bills or debentures, any sum or sums not exceeding the sum of 138,900l. which shall or may be borrowed to pay off such treasury bills now outstanding as are to pass current in the receipt of his Majesty's revenue on or immediately after the 24th day of June, 1788, and of 100,000l. due on the 29th day of September, 1788; and towards payment of an interest not exceeding the rate of 3l. 10s. per centum per annum for such further sum or sums of money, not exceeding in the whole the sum of 918,240l. as shall be borrowed on loan on debentures, for the purpose of paying off a like sum now standing out on loan by debentures, bearing an interest after the rate of 4l. per centum per annum; and that the surplus of the said duties be applied towards discharging of the said several sums due by debentures on treasury bills, as shall be directed by Parliament.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, for allowing three years for drawbacks.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, directing that the several sums granted to encourage the raising sufficient quantities of flax and hemp, and for the encouragement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, shall be applied to such purposes only; and that separate accounts be kept of the application thereof, and be laid before Parliament.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to empower the commissioners of his Majesty's excise, or any three of them, and the collectors of his Majesty's excise in their several districts, to grant licenses for the selling of cider by retail; and that for

every such license the sum of 1s. 1d. and no more, shall be paid or demanded as a fee.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the duty of 10s. per barrel upon all herrings imported, except British herrings, be applied to the encouragement of the fisheries of this kingdom.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to ascertain the allowance to be made for tare on hops imported into this kingdom; and to prohibit the importation of all hops, except of the growth of Great Britain or the British plantations in America; and of all glass, except from Great Britain or France, or the French dominions in Europe; and of all gold and silver lace, not the manufacture of Great Britain; and of all cambricks and lawns, except such as are of the manufacture of Great Britain, France, or the French dominions in Europe.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the respective deputy or deputies of all and every person and persons who by reason of any salaries, profits of employments, fees or pensions, shall be liable to the said tax of 4s. in the pound, shall deliver in upon oath before the Chief Baron or any one of the barons of his Majesty's court of Exchequer, or before any two justices of the peace, an account of the net profits of the said employments of all and every such person or persons who shall not have resided within this kingdom for the space of six calendar months between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March 1789, under a penalty.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the respective secretaries to the commissioners, and agents of those who are intitled to receive any salaries or pensions, shall deliver in upon oath before the Chief Baron or any of the barons of his Majesty's court of Exchequer, or before any two justices of the peace, a list of the officers of the revenue, and of all persons entitled to salaries or pensions who shall not have resided within this kingdom for the space of six calendar months between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, under a penalty.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that a sum of 10,000l. for one year to the 25th of March, 1789, shall be paid to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, out of the aids and duties granted this session of Parliament, to be by them applied in such manner as shall appear to them most conducive to promote the linen and hempen manufactures; and that

so much of the produce of the duties on teas as shall amount to the sum of 7300*l.* shall be placed to the account of his Majesty's hereditary revenue.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that so much of the several duties specified in the report of the committee of ways and means to be granted in lieu of all other duties now payable on the export or import of those commodities which they are respectively imposed on, as the hereditary duties of custom and import excise on such commodities would amount to if they continued payable, shall be placed to the account of his Majesty's hereditary revenue, except in respect of the duties on teas, touching which a special provision is made.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that a separate account be kept of all increase of duties, aids and taxes, which shall or may accrue by means of the discounts and allowances for prompt payment of the import excise and additional duties and allowance of 5*l.* per cent. on payment of customs inwards ceasing to be made.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that where any person shall import crude brimstone or saltpetre, and shall make use of the same in extracting therefrom oil of vitriol or aqua fortis, such person shall be entitled to receive, and the collector of the port or district within which such crude brimstone and saltpetre shall have been imported, shall repay to such person all such duties as have been paid by him on the importation thereof, on his making it appear by affidavit or affirmation, to such collector, that such crude brimstone and saltpetre has been used in making oil of vitriol or aqua fortis.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to exempt from any duties thereby to be imposed on the several articles following; all bills of exchange, accounts, bills of parcels, and all bills or notes not sealed for payment of money at sight or upon demand, or at the end of certain days of payment; also the probate of any will or letters of administration of any common seaman or soldier who shall be slain or die in his Majesty's service, a sufficient certificate being produced and oath being made of the truth thereof; also any warrant made by or recognizance taken before any justice or justices of the peace, or any proceedings which shall relate to any trial of any common soldier; also all pamphlets or news-papers; all acts of Parliament; all proclamations, orders of council, or any publication thereof; all forms of prayer and thanksgiving, and acts of state which shall be ordered by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, to be printed, and all votes

or other matters which are or shall be ordered to be printed by either House of Parliament, and all books commonly used in any of the schools of Ireland, or books containing any matter of devotion or piety, and single advertisements and daily accounts, or bills of goods imported and exported; and also to exempt from payment of more than 6d. all indentures of apprenticeship where no apprentice fee shall be given, or if any fee be given it shall not exceed the sum of 10l.; also to except all persons who shall be admitted to sue or defend in forma pauperis, so far as relates to the suit in which he or she shall be so admitted.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, directing that the duty of 1s. on every entry inwards in the port of Dublin, except post entries and entries on coals, shall be paid by the Collector to the Trustees of the Royal Exchange in the city of Dublin, to be by them applied towards discharging the debts by them contracted for building, furnishing and repairing the same, and for the future repairs thereof, to be accounted for before the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented to the House, according to order,

A bill for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an additional duty on wines, hides, beer, ale, and other goods and merchandizes therein mentioned; and for prohibiting the importation of all gold and silver lace, except of the manufacture of Great Britain; and of all cambricks and lawns, except of the manufacture of Great Britain and France, and the French dominions in Europe; and of all hops, except of the growth of Great Britain and the British Plantations.

A bill for granting to his Majesty the several aids, duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums, in such manner as therein is directed, and for such other purposes as are therein mentioned.

A bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties upon malt.

A bill for granting certain aids, duties and impositions to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the time therein mentioned, and for continuing the effect of a treaty of commerce and navigation concluded between his Majesty and the Most Christian King.

A bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties and rates upon the portage and conveyance of all letters and packets within this kingdom, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

A bill for regulating the sugar trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

Which were received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON observed, that though the House had been informed that by the intended loan a certain number of debentures were by means of a lottery to be reduced from four to three and a half per cent. and of treasury bills from four guineas to 3*l.* 16*s.* yet they had not either this year or last year been told what were the conditions of the loan, though in England those conditions were always communicated on the day of opening the budget. He said he hoped the terms would not be such as those of 1787, which he stated to be, that Administration selected a few persons to whom it sold forty thousand lottery tickets at 5*l.* each, two thousand three and half per cent. debentures of 100*l.* each, and one thousand treasury bills of 100*l.* each, bearing each 3*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* interest; that there was no prospect of loss on those new treasury bills, because at the time the loan was agreed for, the old bills bore such premium as made them yield a smaller interest than that offered by the new bills; that as four per cent debentures were then at par, a greater loss than 13*l.* could not be feared on the new three and half per cents, which on two thousand, could amount only to 26,000*l.*; whereas such was the madness of adventurers that lottery tickets were likely to sell at 30*s.* a piece premium, above 5*l.* their real value. Those premiums amounted to 60,000*l.* so that government sold for a prospect of 26,000*l.* another prospect which appeared worth, at the least 60,000*l.* and so sacrificed a probability of getting 34,000*l.* and which, in fact turned out a much larger sum, as none of the new treasury bills sold under par, and many of them at 20*s.* premium: Scarcely any of the new debentures sold under ninety, and many thousand pounds worth of them sold at ninety-four: None of the tickets sold under 6*l.* 10*s.* and many of them at six guineas and 7*l.* so that Government might have effected for less than 20,000*l.* that reduction which the undertakers of that loan, and their retailers of tickets, did in fact get between 70 and 80,000*l.* for effecting; and the nation suffered all the mischiefs of a lottery, and got but a small part of its profits. He alledged if Government must have a lottery, they might have either done as not many years ago had been done in England, viz. take out of the price of the tickets, a considerable sum for the use of the nation, by diminishing the number of prizes; or they might have sold the tickets in lots at the market price. He did not pretend to decide which of the two would have been the most eligible mode.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he was extremely glad that the hon. baronet had thus openly made his ob-

jections to the plan for reducing the interest on the public debt, as it gave him an opportunity of taking some degree of credit from that transaction, which otherwise he should not have had the vanity to have done. No act of Government, in which he had been concerned, had ever had more entirely his approbation. If ever there had been a circumstance honourable to Government, and advantageous to the nation, certainly, this was one. He did not, he said, expect to have heard it charged as a reproach to Government, that relinquished the means of corruption—relinquishing the patronage which the distribution of lottery tickets, amongst favourites and dependants, naturally gave them—but which was as injurious to the public, as disagreeable to the state. Relinquishing every object but the benefit of the nation, they had fairly applied the whole force of the lottery to that benefit, in reducing one-eighth of the interest on the whole national debt. He thought he had already sufficiently explained the lottery transaction, but if the honourable baronet thought proper he would repeat it again and again. From this the hon. baronet would see, that no such profit as he imagined had been made by the undertaking. He confessed he should have been glad to see gentlemen who, with so much spirit, had undertaken to negotiate a prodigious sum of money for the state gain something for their trouble; but whether they gained or did not gain was no consideration to the public, all that regarded them was, whether better terms could be had from any other person or persons; and he, in the most solemn manner, averred, that having personally or by letter, applied to almost every monied man and company in England and in Ireland, and having received a number of proposals of various kinds, there were none by any means so advantageous to the public as those which had been agreed upon. He observed that the terms had been considerably raised upon the undertakers this year, and would be still higher the next if they had a lottery.—They had been made to pay for their own discovery; but as to any bargain for the next year, it could be only conditional, as the event of a war would make it impossible for any person to give the public such advantageous terms as they were enabled to give now in time of profound peace.

As to what the hon. baronet had said, of reducing the interest on the national debt, from 4l. to 3l. 10s. without any benefit to compensate the loss, he could not see how it could be done;—no man who received 4l. per cent. would voluntarily relinquish that sum, and take 3l. 10s. and surely the hon. baronet was too just to compel men by law to relinquish their property. Besides, it was impossible to foresee what effect such an act of power might produce. But through the medium of lottery men, the very follies and extravagancies of mankind may contribute to the benefit of the state. Besides, lotteries are voluntary taxes; not to mention that two thirds of the tickets are sold abroad, by which a considerable quantity of cash is brought to the country.

He observed a word had been said concerning the gambling spirit introduced by lotteries. In answer he would only observe, that while lotteries were continued as a mode of finance in Great Britain, it would be useless to discontinue them here. But he had some satisfaction in remarking, that the law of the last session, by regulating insurance, had more effectually restrained gambling than any law which absolutely prohibited it would have done.

Upon the whole, he believed the public would prefer the mode of reducing by lotteries the interest upon this debt one-eighth, to an excise upon the industrious trader or manufacturer; and being himself of this opinion, and convinced of the immense benefits that must necessarily result to the national credit, he would maintain the utility of the late transactions, notwithstanding all the insinuations of disappointment.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON replied, that when the reduction of interest on the treasury bills had been proposed last year by that right hon. gentleman, he had, in his place, objected to the doing it by a lottery, and had proposed that Government should simply hold out to the public an offer of treasury bills, at a lower rate of interest; and that he had on that occasion mentioned Mr. Pelham's reduction of interest, in the year 1750, as a good example to follow.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1788.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH requested the attention of the House for a very short time. He said he understood that the present would be but a very short session, and he had in a former session thrown out the idea of reducing the interest of money. He had determined in his own mind to bring forward the measure, but he should not, at the present, make any motion on that head; at the same time he was confident that the subject ought to be agitated; it was a subject of great national consequence, and the situation and circumstances of the country were ripe for it; for his part, he sincerely wished that the measure should originate on the side of Administration, but if he found that they did not intend bringing forward such a measure, he would, with very great humility, in the course of the present session, submit to the consideration of the House a motion on that subject.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER assured the hon. baronet, that Government had, for these two years past, entertained the idea of reducing the interest of money; and with that view they first adopted the principle of reduction of interest, with lowering it on the public funds, which, he said, was laying the foundation of a general reduction of interest of money; and he should most heartily concur with the hon. baronet in any measure to extend the like principle to private security.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said that there was more to the purpose expressed in the 5th of George the Second, chapter the seventh, than if he was speaking for seven hours on the subject.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then, without further preface, moved for leave to bring in a bill *to reduce the interest of money from six to five per cent.*

Leave was given, and it was ordered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Sir Henry Cavendish do prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the following resolutions, which he read in his place, and they were afterwards read by the Clerk at the table, and agreed to by the House.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee,

That for and upon all tobacco which shall be imported into this kingdom between Lady-day, 1788, and Lady-day, 1789, inclusive, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, the several duties following; that is to say, if the same be imported by any of his Majesty's subjects, a duty after the rate of 6d. for every pound weight thereof; but if the same be imported by strangers, then an additional duty after the rate of 1d. for every pound weight thereof; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties payable by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

That a duty of 6d. be laid for and upon every pound weight of tobacco which shall be made and manufactured in this kingdom.

That there shall be paid upon all tobacco which shall be in the possession, stores, or ware-houses of any manufacturer of tobacco on the 25th day of March, 1788, in a manufactured state or in the process of manufacture, a duty after the rate of 16d. for every five pounds weight thereof.

That a duty of 6d. per pound weight be laid on all coffee which shall be imported into this kingdom, from the 25th day of March, 1788, to the 25th day of March, 1789, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duty to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament heretofore made in this kingdom upon the importation thereof.

That a further duty of 6d. be laid on every pound weight of all coffee imported during the time aforesaid which shall be delivered out for consumption in this kingdom.

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, a tax be laid on all travelling tinkers, smiths, casters of iron and

metal, and on all persons hawking about tea or coffee; and on all hawkers, pedlars, petty chapmen, or any other trading persons going from town to town, or to other men's houses, and travelling either on foot or with horse, or otherwise carrying to sell or exposing to sale any goods, wares or merchandizes, except the real workers or makers of any goods or wares within this kingdom, who shall deal only in selling such goods and wares; excepting also coopers, glaziers and harness-makers.

That the said tax laid upon all hawkers, pedlars, petty chapmen, and other trading persons as aforesaid, be 40s. on every such hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, or other person; and also that the further sum of 40s. be laid on every hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, and other trading person as aforesaid, travelling with a horse, ass, mule, or other beast bearing or drawing burden, for each horse, ass, mule, or other beast bearing or drawing burden he or she shall so travel with, over and above the said first-mentioned tax of 40s. from the 25th day of March, 1788, to the 25th day of March, 1789, inclusive.

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, a tax be laid on all persons hawking about trees, shrubs and plants for sale; and on all persons who shall sell or expose to sale in any stall, stand, shed, booth or bulk, or other place not being a part of or in his dwelling-house, any new or old books, maps, prints, charts, pamphlets or drawings; and every person who shall sell or expose to sale any glass bottles, not being the maker or importer thereof, or not selling wine, spirits, beer or ale; and on every person who shall sell or expose to sale old iron or old lead; and also on every person who shall sell or expose to sale old clothes in any stall, stand, shed, booth, bulk, shop, or other place, except such persons as shall deal only in selling acts of Parliament, forms of prayer, proclamations, gazettes, newspapers or almanacks; or fish, fruit or victuals.

That the said tax laid upon all persons hawking about trees, shrubs and plants, or selling or exposing to sale any new or old books, maps, prints, charts, pamphlets or drawings, or selling or exposing to sale any glass bottles, old iron or lead, or old clothes as aforesaid, be 40s. from the 25th day of March, 1788, to the 25th day of March, 1789, inclusive.

That for and upon every coach, chariot, berlin, calash or chaise with four wheels, which any person shall keep in his or her possession at any time during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid a duty of 4l. except cabriolets, garden chairs, hackney or stage carriages, and carriages kept by the makers for sale; and for and upon all chaises with two wheels, which any person shall keep in his or her possession, a duty of 15s. except hackney chaises; and chaises kept by the makers for sale.

That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person manufacturing candles for sale in this kingdom at any time between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789.

That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person selling or manufacturing paper hangings for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person manufacturing soap for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

That every person selling tea or groceries by retail at any time during the time aforesaid, in any town corporate in this kingdom, shall pay a duty of 20s. and in any other part of this kingdom a duty of 10s.

That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person selling or making any gold or silver plate for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person who shall keep a tan-yard or tan-pit, or tan leather for sale in this kingdom, at any time during the time aforesaid.

That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty a duty of 40s. be paid by every factor or person selling home-made spirits in this kingdom, and not being a distiller or licensed as a retailer, at any time between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, inclusive.

That a duty of 40s. be paid by every person who shall keep any coffee house in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

That a duty of 9s. 2½d. per hundred weight be laid upon all cordage, tarred and untarred, imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except from Great Britain, France, and the French dominions in Europe.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare and bring in one or more bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means and the resolutions of the committee of supply, to insert clauses in such bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means reported this day.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to oblige every person chargeable with the duty on carriages with four wheels, and also on chaises with two wheels, to return a true account of all coaches, berlins, chariots, calashes, and chaises with four wheels, and chaises with two wheels, kept by him, her or them, under a penalty.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, to repeal so much of an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of his present Majesty's reign, intituled an act for continuing the encouragement given by former acts of Parliament for promoting and carrying on inland navigations in this kingdom, as continues the duties on carriages, from the 25th day of March, 1788, to the 25th day of March, 1789.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that a sum of 2635l. be paid out of the duties upon carriages, and applied in the same manner as the duties by the said last mentioned act of the twenty-sixth year of his present Majesty were directed to be paid and applied.

A petition of the inhabitants of the town of Granard in the county of Longford, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that petitioners understand that an act of Parliament hath lately passed in this kingdom relative to the manufacturing of tobacco; that for a series of years past the said business has been carried on extensively in said town, and his Majesty's duties always faithfully discharged; that there are many more of the inhabitants of said town inclined to carry on said business, were it not that they conceive they are precluded by the said act from and after the 25th day of March next, which will greatly lessen his Majesty's revenue; that said town is an extensive market-town, where all sorts of business is carried on, returns two members to Parliament, and has a large barrack sufficient to contain three companies of foot, and wherein a revenue officer always resides; that petitioners humbly conceive it was intended by the said act that the liberty of manufacturing tobacco should be continued in all towns returning members to Parliament, and where a revenue officer is constantly resident; though by the strict words of the said act it appears that the inhabitants of said town will be thereby precluded from the peculiarity of its charter, being only a manor town, though infinitely of more trade and extent than the greater number of the towns corporate of this kingdom; and if precluded by said act from carrying on said business it will prove injurious to said town and the vicinity thereof, as no town where tobacco can be manufactured is at all contiguous thereto; and will prove very disadvantageous to all persons living in or near said town, for the want of such a commodity.

Mr. SERJEANT TOLER presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the better securing the purchasers of lands under decrees in Courts of Equity; which was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare and bring in one or more bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means and the resolutions of the committee of supply, to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that all tobacco which shall on the 25th of March, 1788, be warehoused, and the duties bonded, shall be subject only to the duties to which the same would be subject if imported after said day.

Also that upon all tobacco which shall be in the stores of any merchant or manufacturer on the 25th of March, 1788, in the original package, and on which the duties required by law shall have been paid, there shall be allowed such sum or sums as the duties paid on import shall have exceeded the duties that would be payable if such tobacco were imported after said day; and upon all tobacco in the stores of any manufacturer on said day, in a manufactured state, or in the process of manufacture, there shall be repaid such sums as the duties paid on the import of the unmanufactured tobacco, whereof the same is made, shall have exceeded the duties that would be payable if the same were to be imported after said day.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented to the House, according to order,

A bill to promote the linen and hempen manufactures, by encreasing the supply of Irish flax-seed, and encouraging the export of linens and sail-cloth, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

A bill for the advancement of trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties therein mentioned.

A bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties therein mentioned. to be levied by the commissioners for managing the stamp duties.

Which were received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1788.

Mr. HOLMES, in a pathetic manner, pointed out the hardships and miseries that most of the debtors confined in the Four Courts Marshalsea suffer. He enumerated those confined for particular sums, and declared, that some mode should be devised to remedy an evil that reduced so many to the utmost misery, and rendered them useless to themselves and the community.

A petition of above one hundred and forty persons confined for debt in the Four-courts Marshalsea, in behalf of themselves and all other persons under similar circumstances in the different prisons throughout this kingdom, was presented to the House and read ; setting forth, that the petitioners are composed chiefly of mechanics, manufacturers, artificers, tradesmen, and persons in professional lines, who, for the most part, have families depending on them for that support which the rigour of their situations have long since prevented them from earning ; that an unprovided captivity, without any measure fixt to its duration, the petitioners feel to be the heaviest and most hopeless endurance of life that can be allotted to man ; a state from which they can see no prospect of redemption, except through the saving interposition of a supreme and merciful legislature ; that the compassion of this august assembly was excited by many of the petitioners who were in confinement for years, or previous to the last session of Parliament, but the bill which was then humanely intended for their relief somehow failing in its progress, at once plunged them from the fascinating expectations of returning liberty into an agony of disappointment ; that by the intellectual and bodily rack of a long imprisonment, the greater number of the petitioners are every way so reduced (their sole dependance being the casual donations of charity) that nothing under Providence but the humanity of the great tribunal they are now supplicating can, it is dreaded, rescue them from the deepest and most poignant extreme of human misery ; that the petitioners of every description are willing to give their creditors their all, their every remaining remnant of earthly substance ; and therefore praying the House mercifully to grant them such relief as through their high wisdom and humanity they shall judge meet, and that the divine goodness may shed domestic as well as national blessings on their heads.

A petition of the merchants, traders and inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Drogheda, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read ; setting forth, that several sums of money have from time to time been granted by the House for improving the navigation of the river Boyne, from the bridge of Drogheda to the sea, which have been accounted for before the commissioners of imprest accounts ; that several large sums of money have also been applied out of the funds of the corporation of said town, and expended in aid of the grants from Parliament, but that the said corporation is unable to give further aid towards completing the said works, and for erecting a market-house in said town for the sale of corn, of which it is destitute, though one of the greatest corn markets in this kingdom ; that the petitioners apprehend it will require the sum of 12,000*l.* to execute and complete the same ; that the petitioners, sensible of the great advantage that must arise to the

said town and the trade thereof, and also to the adjacent counties of Meath and Louth, from having the improvement of said harbour compleated, and the said market-house for the sale of corn erected, are desirous of having a local tax of six-pence per ton laid on all shipping that shall enter the harbour of said town; and praying for leave to bring in a bill for the said purposes.

The House went into a committee on the great Money bill.

When the clause for laying a duty of 10s. per barrel on all foreign herrings imported into this kingdom, except British, was read,

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he had several letters, against the duty, from the city he had the honour to represent; that his constituents had instructed him to lay before the House the great injury and distress the people of Cork laboured under by preventing the importation of foreign herrings, as there was not a sufficiency for the home consumption taken by our own fishery; and as they intended to apply by petition, he hoped the right honourable gentleman, [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] would postpone the clause for a few days, till matters could be properly arranged to be laid before the House; and, he said, he thought he could not have any objection, as he supposed it was not any favourite object of the right honourable gentleman.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he applauded the right honourable gentleman's attention to the instructions of his constituents; and he had no objection to indulge the right honourable gentleman in his request.

The SECRETARY OF STATE requested to know the reason for the duty?

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER answered, the chief reason was to prevent the smuggling of Swedish herrings to the West Indies, and another for the encouragement of our own fisheries.

The Honourable DENIS BROWNE said he was against taking off the duty.

The question was put on the clause, and it passed.

On the Speaker's putting the question that he should now leave the chair, in order for the House to go into a committee on the loan bill,

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON observed the impolicy of the terms of the loan; that 238,900l. were to be lent on treasury bills of 3l. 16s. per cent. which being at par, there was no probability

that the undertakers would lose by them: That for replacing 400,000*l.* now at four cent. a like sum was to be borrowed on three and a half per cent. debentures, which, being now at ninety, and an advertisement in the newspapers offering to buy 50,000*l.*'s. worth of them at that price, there was no likelihood of the undertakers losing more than 400,000*l.* by them: That as the lottery fever is rising every year, tickets might advance to the price of last season, viz. fifty per cent. above their real value; however he would only calculate on their selling as high as last summer, which, on an average, was not less than six guineas each, at which rate they would produce 73,000*l.* profit to the undertakers, from whence deducting the 40,000*l.* loss on the debentures, there would remain a clear gain of 33,000*l.* for those gentlemen, which might have been gained for the state. That he need not repeat what he had already urged as to the inexpediency of that part of the contract which respected the year 1789, viz. first the want of reciprocity in leaving the undertakers free in case of war, and binding the Government in case of peace; and secondly the monopoly granted to the undertakers against the stock-holders over all the four per cent. debentures, and all the four guinea per cent. treasury bills. That he had not heard the right honourable baronet adduce any one argument in defence of an Irish lottery, except that the persons addicted to that sort of gaming would in that case game in the English lottery; he said it would then probably be confined to the gentry, where it would not do near so much mischief to the public as in extending to the lower classes of the people, who would be apprehensive of some unfairness in a lottery drawn in another kingdom; not to mention that in an English lottery, there would be much fewer insurances of tickets by Irishmen;—that and the loss of time occasioned by manufacturers and journeymen, attending the drawing would be prevented. He observed, that though the French financiers had not the spirit to lay aside that source of revenue arising from lotteries, yet the most celebrated of them were ashamed of it in their writings, and wished to abolish it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER declared he was ashamed to trouble gentlemen so often on this subject, and he once for all insisted on it, and he desired the honourable baronet to disprove what he said, that the terms on which the lottery was negotiated, were most advantageous to the public that possibly could be made; he said he preferred the terms that were made to any other that were offered, because it led to one great principle, which was the reduction of the interest on the national funds, which must be ultimately productive of the greatest advantage to the country.—He said that 3800*l.* would be the annual saving, a sum sufficient to pay the national interest of 95,000*l.*

SIR FRANCIS HUTCHINSON replied, that he could not admit the right honourable baronet's statement; that the new treasury

bills being at par, had been the effect of his lottery loan of 1787; as he could prove that at the time of his communicating that scheme to the public, and for some time before it, the old bills had been at so high a premium as to yield only from 3l. 12s. to 3l. 14s. per cent. interest to the purchasers. And that as to the merit he pleaded in having by his close loan of 1787, raised the lottery fever so much higher than it had been by the open subscription of 1786, he insisted that as the fever was raised he ought if he was resolved to recur to a lottery, to have availed himself of it, not in part as he had only done, but to its full extent, for the benefit of the public.

Mr. MASON said his right honourable friend had gone as far as possibly he could in reducing the interest in the public funds. The interest now was sufficiently low, and he hoped that a further reduction of the national interest will not take place, for in that case it might prove injurious to the country, by draining it of large sums of money for the purpose of making lodgments in the English funds.

Mr. CORRY said that he would not offer any opinion on the bargain made for the reduction of the interest, whether it was or was not the best possible bargain; but he was clearly of opinion, that the reduction of interest was a measure infinitely preferable for this country to the reduction of the debt—with the most sincere attachment to œconomy in expenditure he would declare, though it might appear at first a paradox, that he did not wish to see one shilling of the debt discharged or reduced.

The loan bill was then read, paragraph by paragraph.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON objected to that clause, which allowed tickets to be sub-divided so low as a 16th, alledging, that as in England a ten pound ticket could not be divided into 16 shares, so here, where the value of a ticket was only five pound, they ought not to be dividable into more than eight shares; that there was no reason why that poison should be retailed in cheaper doses than 12s. 6d. each, as the 6s. 3d. dose might be purchased by every journeyman, mechanic, and servant.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER objected to the alteration, and the clause passed.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the following resolutions:

Resolved that a duty of 20l. be paid by every person manufacturing tobacco for sale in this kingdom, at any time between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789.

That a duty of 10l. be paid by every person carrying on the business of a pawnbroker, at any time between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented to House, according to order,

A bill for granting certain duties on carriages.

A bill for licensing hawkers and pedlars, petty chapmen and other persons.

A bill for granting certain duties upon licenses to be taken out by the several persons therein mentioned,

Which were received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

A petition of Robert Watson Wade was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that in the return made to the House at the close of the last session of Parliament, of the several warrants drawn by the Navigation Board for the rivers Shannon and Barrow, then due and outstanding, a warrant for 2000l. dated 19th October, 1782, for the river Barrow, was omitted, upon a supposition that the same had been discharged at the treasury, but which warrant remained then due and unpaid; that the commissioners of imprest accounts have reported to the House this session of Parliament that the expenditure of the said sum of 2000l. has been fully proved before them; but no notice having been taken of said warrant or its amount in the schedule annexed to the act, on of the defect in said return, the said sum remains still due and unpaid to the petitioner, who is the holder thereof; and praying the House to order payment thereof.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1788.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he had a clause to move for, to be inserted in the bill to promote the linen and hempen manufactures, which stood committed for this day, which he thought would very materially serve the linen manufacture of this kingdom in general. The clause went to this effect—That the bounties granted for encouraging the growth of flax, and promoting a sufficient supply of Irish flax-seed, which he understood was to be 7000l. should be distributed in four equal proportions among the different provinces of this kingdom. He then moved, that the committee of the whole House, to whom said bill be referred, be empowered to receive said clause.

Mr. CORRY said the clause proposed by the right honourable gentleman involved a question of very great importance, no less

than the welfare of our staple trade; and as the clause went to a total derangement of the present system of the linen board, he hoped the commitment of the bill would be postponed for a few days, in order to give gentlemen sufficient time to consider maturely the nature and probable consequences of the clause now moved for by the right honourable gentleman, who, he was well convinced, was a warm friend to the staple manufacture of this kingdom.

The SECRETARY OF STATE assured the honourable gentleman, that if he imagined that the clause would be of the smallest prejudice to the linen manufacture of this kingdom, whose prosperity he had ever warmly at heart, he would be the last man in that House to propose it; but he was of opinion that the clause he now moved for would tend rather to serve and encrease the linen manufacture.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed that the linen bill was a money bill, and by deferring it for any long time, it would be impeding the public business.

It was then agreed to discharge the order for the committal of the bill for this day, and the clause was received.

The Honourable DENIS BROWNE, after observing on the numerous statutes that are in force in this kingdom respecting the fisheries, and that they are become so complicated as to be attended with much inconvenience, said, in order to simplify them and bring them under one general head, he should move for leave to bring in a bill *to explain and amend the laws relative to the fisheries on the coasts of this kingdom.*

Mr. CORRY said he perfectly coincided in opinion with the honourable gentleman, that a revival and digest of all the fishery acts was rendered absolutely necessary.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mr. MASON reported the loan bill; and on the Speaker's putting the question, that the said bill be ingrossed,

Mr. PARSONS said that the loan bill, and the bill for reducing the legal interest of money in this kingdom, must be considered together, as parts of the same scheme; that they both proceeded from the same gentleman, and had evidently the same object;—namely, the reduction of interest; and that thus considered together, the design and extent of a scheme, now involved in some obscurity, might be discovered. First, a private contract was made by the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give the profits of the lottery for two years, as a premium for signing down the interest of 900,000*l.* of debt from 4 to 3 1-half per cent, and then the same gentleman proposes a bill to reduce

the legal interest of money from six to five per cent. the operation of which must be such a considerable rise of the funds, as will bring the 3 1-half per cent. at least up to par, and consequently the lottery contractors will lose nothing by the reduction of the interest of the 900,000*l.* from 4 to 3 1-half per cent. but will have the whole profits of the lottery for two years, amounting at a moderate computation, to 140,000*l.* a clear gain;—so that while by one bill he makes the nation pay for the reduction of interest, 140,000*l.* he proposes another that will obliquely effectuate that reduction for nothing. This is a bold stroke of finance. I will not say, if these bills should pass, where this immense sum will be absorbed; whether by a minister—whether by a lottery contractor—whether by both—I will only state the facts.

Even if the bill for reducing the interest of money should not pass, see what sort of bargain is made for the nation. The interest of the funds, the right honourable gentleman has contracted to reduce in this manner:—he is to call in, in the two years, 900,000*l.* of debentures, which now bear an interest of 4 per cent. and to issue others to the contractors to the same amount, which are to bear an interest of 3 1-half per cent. and which they are to take at par. But a debenture of 100*l.* at 3 1-half per cent. now sells for 90*l.* consequently 100,000*l.* of such debentures will sell for 90,000*l.* the loss, therefore, to the contractors, on each 100,000*l.* will be but 10,000*l.* and the loss upon the 900,000*l.* but 90,000*l.* It will then stand thus:

The profits of the lottery for two years	£. 140,000
The loss on the reduction of 900,000 <i>l.</i> of debentures, from 4 to 3 1-half per cent.	} 90,000

Gain of the contractors	—	—	50,000 <i>l.</i>
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For the net profits of the lottery for two years 140,000*l.* must be considered a moderate estimate, since the tickets sold last year at an average of 7*l.* each, and since there is the highest probability that they will sell much higher this year, for at this day the price of English tickets is 18*l.* 15*s.* 4½*d.* and Irish tickets being half the value, if sold at the same rate, should be above 9*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* it also appears from the guinea chances now selling at the lottery offices, eight of which are in real value only equal to one Irish ticket, and that without even Government security, are sold for 9*l.* 4*s.* The tickets ought therefore to be sold by Government at the lowest for 6*l.* 15*s.* each, that is 1*l.* 15*s.* profit, which on 40,000 tickets, would bring into the Treasury 70,000*l.* each year, or 140,000*l.* in the two years. If none of the offers made to the minister were so high as this now stated, it must be owing to the strange incorporation of two measures, which should have been kept distinct; the sale of the tickets, and the reduction of the interest of the debt; because this subjected contractors to much unnecessary risk: not only to the risk upon any fall in the price of the lottery tickets, but to any fall in the price of the

debentures. The contractors, four private persons, and these men of no very great consequence, for two of them are clerks in the post-office, the third a notary public, and the fourth some other obscure individual, could not be supposed to run a risk upon such a considerable sum as two lotteries and 900,000*l.* in debentures, in all above 1,300,000*l.* without being paid for it enormously. It is the state that should run such risks as these, which individuals will never do but at a most uturious premium. The number of bidders were also much diminished by this way of complicating the lottery and debentures, for none but great speculators, or such as are in the secrets of the financier, would venture to engage in such a stupendous undertaking. For what purpose then, I ask, was this complication? was it to intimidate other bidders, and sanction a monopoly, to these friends of the minister? was it to obscure and cloud the whole scheme; to render it unintelligible to the public? which it has already done so effectually, that many I have conversed with, had only a confused idea that the lottery would reduce the interest of the debt by some strange kind of necromancy, which they could not comprehend, and which they could not believe, that money raised in any other way, than by that most pernicious of all others, would be able to effect.

He said that there was a most alarming advantage taken of the complication and confusion of this measure: an attempt was made to lead this House and the public, into the persuasion, that the interest of money in general might be reduced from six to five per cent. It had been repeatedly said by the right honourable gentleman, "that the interest of money on Government security, was now reduced from 4 to 3 1-half per cent. that an experiment had now been made on the funds of the nation, and that the event had proved that the nation was now ripe for a general reduction of interest." But, there never was a greater, or more audacious fallacy. How could Government be said to get money at 3 1-half per cent. when 100*l.* debenture at that interest sells but for 90*l.* whereas, if that assertion was true, it would sell for 100*l.* I will not now pretend to say whether the reduction of interest in general is a wise measure or no, but certainly it is a most important one, and I must again and again reprobate the attempt to lead gentlemen into it by such an illusion. The attempt, however, shews how the two measures are interwoven, and that they make but one system, and that a system too, which I must say has the extreme either of folly or of fraud at the bottom of it. To fine down the interest of the debt, even if the bill for a general reduction of interest should not pass, would be an unwise measure. Interest on Government security, was even now a little below 4 per cent. as debentures at 3 1-half fold for 90*l.* and that if the interest should sink lower than it is now, after this plan for the reduction from 4 to 3 1-half per cent. shall have taken place, Govern-

ment will not be able to profit by it, unless it should fall even below 3 1-half per cent.

He then said he would state what he believed to be the wisest plan. First to sell the lottery tickets unincumbered with any project, at the lowest profit; they would bring each year at least, 70,000*l.* into the Treasury; then instead of fining down the interest of the debt, reduce with this sum the debt itself; you will by this not only reduce the principal of the debt 140,000*l.* in the two years, but you will reduce the aggregate of the interest also, and in a greater degree than by the plan of the minister; for the interest of 140,000*l.* the reduction of the debt in the two years is at four per cent. 5600*l.* a year, whereas the reduction of the interest of 900,200*l.* from four to 3 1-half per cent. is but 4500*l.* a year; besides, the moment you begin to pay off the principal your funds will certainly rise, and you will probably be able at the end of the two years, to call in a great part of your debentures at four per cent. and issue out others at 3 1-half or 3-3 1-fourths according as your funds rise without any premium. See then the different state, which your financiers would be in at the end of the two years; if you were to follow what I propose instead of the scheme of the right honourable member, the interest of your debt will be 1100*l.* a year less than by his scheme; the debt itself will be 140,000*l.* less, and a great probability of being able without any expence to reduce the interest of the remainder; which scheme I ask then is to be preferred?

The right honourable gentleman includes also the reduction of interest on Exchequer bills in his scheme, which can be for no other purpose but to render it more complex, and because he would not suffer that even these should be exchanged without sending them through the hands of his contractors, for as at the reduced interest they were at par last year, and are at par this year, there can be no loss, there can be no favour in the negotiation of them; nay, if interest in negotiation shall be reduced, they will rise in value and bear a considerable premium, which will also fall into his contractors, and who at any rate will snatch some profit from them in their transit.

He said, he also objected to the duration of the scheme. After the very disadvantageous negotiation the right honourable member made of the lottery last year, he came with a bad grace to desire we should trust to his negotiation for two years. Last year the profits of the whole lottery were given to the same set of contractors for exchanging 20,000*l.* worth of Debentures at four per cent. for 200,000*l.* at three 1-half per cent; but these last being at 90*l.* they lost on that exchange but 20,000*l.* The tickets they sold at about 7*l.* each, which, on 40,000 tickets was a profit of 60,000*l.*

He said he must also object to a close lottery, as this was called. The right honourable member himself had acknowledged that

all lotteries, antecedent to the last, had been corruptly disposed of; and after such an acknowledgment, every transaction relative to them from henceforth could not be too public. After such an acknowledgment as to the past, one cannot help being suspicious as to the future, and asking, why is this negotiation private? Why are the same contractors that were employed last year selected for this year, and for the next year? How came four men, so obscure, to be fixed upon? How came four such men to aspire to so extravagant an enterprize? By what arguments were they prevailed upon to dare the negotiation of 130,000l.? As they could not attempt such an engagement of themselves, who is to back and to support them? Who are to be their secret copartners? It is our peculiar duty, to whose care the purse of the nation is committed, to enquire into these things, and to protect it against the fraud or folly of ministers. If the national interest shall be reduced, there will be a loss demonstratively of 140,000l.—if it shall not be reduced, there will be 59,000l. lost to the nation; lost to the honest creditors of the public, for the aggrandizement, if not of ministers, of stock-jobbers and lottery mongers. A lottery is, of all others, the most mischievous tax; it is a tax upon the morals, a tax upon the honesty, and a tax upon the industry of the people; which, with a wise legislature, should be the last objects of taxation. But since it is decided that we are to have the plagues of a lottery; let us take care to have the profits of it also.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed that the honourable gentleman had asserted that no reduction on the interest of the public funds had taken place; this was an assertion he did not well understand, when the fact was, that 400,000l. were borrowed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The honourable gentleman has objected to a close bargain; and he has said, that if a different mode was adopted for the negotiation for the lottery, more bidders would have offered; but that was a general assertion which did by no means apply. In England, the advantages arising from a close bargain have been experienced for several years, and is now the mode constantly adopted. He asked, would the honourable gentlemen have Government hawk about tickets, one by one? He would also inform the honourable gentleman that tickets are a very fluctuating article; and he knew it to be a fact, that within three weeks of the drawing of the last lottery, there was a variation of twenty shillings in the price of tickets. He said he now once for all contended, that a profit to the nation had accrued of 3816l. annual saving, by means of the terms on which he negotiated the lottery, namely 2000l. on debentures reduced from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and 1816l. on Treasury bills reduced from 4l. 11s. 3d. to 3l. 16s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cent. interest; which sum of 3816l. would pay the interest of 95,000l. at 4 per cent.; and he likewise informed the honourable gentleman that the purchasers of

the lottery must make a deposit in the course of the current year of 800,000*l.* which advance would, in all probability, be attended with some benefit to Government, and certainly not of any emolument to themselves.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) wished to know when the right honourable gentleman [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] and the honourable baronet [Sir Henry Cavendish] would bring in the bill for the reduction of the interest of money. He said it was a measure of the highest importance, and should be considered with every possible attention, and ought not to be precipitated. He wished, however, the right honourable gentleman had agitated that question previous to the loan, as it would, in all probability, be the means of his procuring better terms.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER assured the honourable gentleman that there was not the smallest intention to precipitate the measure, on the contrary, every reasonable time would be given to that honourable gentleman, and to every other honourable gentleman, to consider it maturely—but the measure of reducing the interest of money could not possibly be brought forward at an earlier time—and the loan bill could not be delayed: he observed, what he hoped would give great pleasure to every gentleman in that House, that the whole funded debt is now brought to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He said he would not bring in the bill for some days, in order to give gentlemen time to give the subject every possible investigation.

Mr. BURGH declared, he did not mean to give any decided opinion as to the question of reduction; but why he wished it had been earlier agitated was, that had it been known that such a measure was to be brought forward, better terms, in negotiating the loan would, in all probability, have been had. He was confident that the mercantile interest of this kingdom would be much benefited by a reduction of interest; he said he had a clause to propose to the bill for rendering the payment of interest money more effectual; for, he said, there were several instances where a great arrear of interest had accrued, which was severely felt by a great number of persons, who depended chiefly for subsistence on the interest money of sums charged on landed property. He would not then argue the principle of the bill, but he was certain the principle of his clause was a good one, and ought to be admitted.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH submitted it to the honourable gentleman, whether it would not be better to propose his clause in another stage of the business? At the same time he observed, that there was a law already existing in this country, that in case of an arrear of a year and a half of interest, the party might apply

to the court to have a receiver appointed. For his part, he wished the bill to be brought in as soon as possible, for in all probability there may be persons who will find themselves interested in the event of it. He observed that a clamour was raised against the measure, but he was inclined to believe that it proceeded from no other than interested and selfish views.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY said he differed in opinion with respect to the bill for the reduction of interest; he thought it a measure highly detrimental to this country; as for his part he was a payer and not a receiver of interest, but from the best information he had received, it was by no means that beneficial measure it had been represented, and he was confident that the first information and strictest investigation was necessary for a subject of such importance, and he wished to know when the bill was to be brought in.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said the subject ought to be taken up on a broad principle; however it must be obvious to every person, that if in one country interest is at six per cent. and in another only at five per cent. one country labours, in point of trade, under a very great disadvantage. He said he should introduce the bill in the course of the next week.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said there was no question before the House, and the best way for expediting public business would be to call for the order of the day; but as the bill for the reduction of interest had been mentioned, he owned he looked upon it as a subject of the highest national importance, and he felt himself at present inclined to vote against it; however, when it should come on to be discussed, for his part he would come to the House and give a vote, arising from conviction only, and from an unbiased judgment.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of ways and means the following resolutions, which were agreed to by the House.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee,

That for and upon every almanack or calendar for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be printed on one side only of any one sheet or piece of paper only, there shall be paid a further duty of 1d. and for and upon every other almanack or calendar for any one particular year, a further duty of 2d.

That every person selling spirits by retail within the city of Dublin, or five miles thereof, shall pay a duty of 10s. over and above all duties and rates payable during the time aforesaid.

It was ordered that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to explain and amend an

act intitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin, and for other purposes, to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill, that the duty of 10l. upon every person carrying on the business of a pawn-broker; and also the duty of 10s. upon every person selling spirits by retail within the city of Dublin, or five miles thereof, be collected by the commissioners appointed by the said act, and applied to the purposes of the said act.

Also that it be an instruction to the said committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill, that the duties upon all persons hawking about trees, shrubs or plants for sale; on all persons who shall sell, or expose to sale, in any stall, stand, shed, booth or bulk, or other place, not being a part of or in his dwelling house, any new or old books, maps, prints, charts, pamphlets or drawings; and on every person who shall expose to sale any glass bottles, not being the maker or importer thereof, or not selling wine, spirits, beer or ale; and also on every person who shall sell, or expose to sale, any old iron or old lead; and also on every person who shall sell, or expose to sale, old clothes in any stall, stand, shed, booth, bulk, shop or other place, be collected by the commissioners appointed under said act, and applied to the purposes of the said act.

Also that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to prepare and bring in one or more bill or bills, pursuant to the resolutions of the committee of supply, to insert a clause or clauses in the said bill or bills, that the further duties laid on almanacks and calendars, and the duty on Dublin directories, be applied in the first place towards the discharge of the interest of the sum of 3000l. granted in the last session to the provost, fellows and scholars of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, for the purpose of carrying on the square in the said College, called the Parliament-square, agreeably to the terms set forth in their petition presented to this House the last session of Parliament; and the residue towards defraying the necessary expences of Government.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1788.

The loan bill being read a third time,

Mr. PARSONS said he must still continue to complain that Government had not made so good a bargain as they might have done, had they sold the tickets in small portions; and he thought that as the national rate of interest was now to be reduced from 6 to 5 per cent. the undertakers of the lottery might have afforded more advantageous terms than they had given to the public.

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Mr. FITZHERBERT said the arguments of the honourable gentleman seemed all to resolve themselves into this question—would it have been better for the public that the loan should be connected with a close lottery, or that Government should, as upon former occasions, sell out the tickets in small parcels?

It would not, he said, be a very dignified measure of Government to enter into a retail trade, and above all trades Government was least fitted for that of retailing lottery tickets—it was a kind of business which could be only pursued to profit by private persons, whose whole attention must be devoted to it. There was then but one thing that Government could have done, which was, diligently to seek out and encourage proposers from as many competitors as they could possibly find. This had been done, a great number of proposals had been received, some of them, particularly from persons at this side of the water, very liberal ones; and he would even venture to assure the House, in the most solemn manner, that the very highest were those accepted of.

Mr. BUSHE said the honourable gentleman who spoke last but one, had taken up an opinion which required one word of observation. He had asserted that lottery tickets had been sold at 7*l*. and had therefore inferred that Government should have got 7*l*. for each ticket of the present year. This was an odd kind of reasoning indeed. A man might eventually sell an article for 7*l*. and therefore he was expected to purchase it at that price in the first instance; but if the honourable gentleman would take the trouble of a moment's reflection, he would perceive that the circumstance of the lottery being close was the very thing that enabled the undertakers to sell some tickets at 7*l*. as it enabled them to supply the market in proportion to the demand, and to risk, perhaps, the drawing of a number which might have lain upon their hands, a circumstance of which Government could not possibly make a like advantage.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said that the honourable gentleman had seemed to take it for granted, that when the national rate of interest should be reduced to 5 per cent. the value of Government debentures and treasury bills would fall; but this was by no means a consequence to be expected. He remembered perfectly well when Government could readily borrow at 4 per cent. though private persons could not get money at 6. Public credit might be very high at the same time that private credit was at a low ebb.

The question was then put, and the bill passed unanimously.

The SECRETARY OF STATE moved to amend the clause imposing a duty of ten shillings on each barrel of herrings, and, instead of the word "ten," that the word "four" should be inserted.

He said he knew that, by this motion, he encountered strong and general prejudices in favour of the Irish fishery. He acknowledged the importance of the object, and professed himself to be as warm a friend to the attainment of it as any man in the kingdom; but said, that the difference of opinion between the too sanguine supporters of this measure and himself, was this—whether it was to be forced by a prohibitory duty, which was their opinion, or by a high duty, with 60,000*l.* given for its encouragement, and a large bounty on the export, which was his decided opinion; and, speaking as he did in a spirit of the fullest conviction, he requested his reasons should be attended to, and that he should be answered by argument, and not over-ruled by numbers. He said that a right honourable friend of his, acting, he was persuaded, more from public than private motives, had given 20,000*l.* of his own property for this national purpose; that Government had co-operated with his spirited efforts, by advancing 20,000*l.* of the public money in this great adventure, and also a further sum of 10,000*l.* given by other gentlemen of the same part of the kingdom. Those great encouragements, with a high duty on the import, and a large bounty on the export, were either a sufficient preference, or the object was not of public utility. He thought that no prohibitory duty should have been imposed, till it should appear that we were able to supply ourselves with this necessary of life, of commerce, and manufacture. This was his opinion when the prohibitory duty was first moved. He opposed it with all his strength, but the splendour of the offer had dazzled the eyes of the public; and perhaps the partiality of that House to a worthy member, restored to it beyond all hope, had added to the public delusion. Having opposed this measure in every state of its progress, and pledged himself to the House to renew his opposition to it, on the failure of a sufficient supply, he was bound, that event having taken place, to submit, once more, his sentiments to that assembly, and lamented most sincerely that the health of the right honourable gentleman had prevented his attendance, believing that no man would be more influenced by motives of humanity than the patron of that measure. He said herrings were a necessary of life to the lower orders of people in the South of Ireland, particularly on the extensive coast in the western parts of it, where they were become very numerous. That milk, on the sea coast there, was so scarce, that the poor could not purchase it: that potatoes and herrings were their only support: that these had an oil and a nourishment, which no other fish could supply in the same degree. That since this prohibitory law, there was no supply of this necessary of life in the winter and spring, when it was most wanted, and in other seasons the price was doubled. He asked whether the poor of Ireland were so abundantly provided for, as to justify the raising one of their principal necessities to double the former

expence. He desired gentlemen to advert to the policy of the nation in the system of the corn laws; and what was that? When corn rose beyond a certain price, our ports were thrown open to all the world: and why? Because when we cannot supply ourselves at reasonable rates, the whole world is our market. Shall we use those precautions in the necessaries of life for the higher and middle classes, and totally reject them when the necessaries of the poor are to be affected? If we continued to do so, we should act against the known principles of every ancient kingdom, particularly of Athens and Rome, and of every modern state in Europe, striking instances of which he mentioned from the different states in Italy, and well governed republics of Switzerland; and called upon his opponents to mention any example in ancient or modern story, where a necessary for the poor, which their country did not supply, was loaded with a prohibitory duty. Giving a decided preference to your own produce, by a high duty on the produce of other countries, and the increasing this gradually, would have been right; that true political economy and commercial wisdom proceed with a slow, cautious and deliberate step, and are not accustomed to rush at once with precipitate frenzy into extremes. He therefore earnestly besought every gentleman to lay his hand upon his breast, and endeavouring to raise his mind to that Being who provides food for all his creatures, and administers to the necessities of one part of his creation from the abundance of the other; to say, seriously and solemnly, by what principle, moral or religious, they are justified in tearing from the mouth of pining industry, the morsel that sustains it. He said this was also an important article of commerce, and gave employment to several manufactures; that its importance was increased by its being a necessary assortment in the victualling trade, which, as a commercial object, was next in value to our linen trade; that the whole was materially injured by the want of this supply at a reasonable price, and in proper time; and that ships now sometimes waited three months for it, in imminent danger of losing their passage. He heard but one objection—it was said that by this trade foreign herrings sometimes found their way into the British colonies, and that this was injurious to the British fisheries. But he desired to ask some questions. Was Great Britain able to supply her colonies with this article? Did not Gottenburgh, instead of Ireland, now supply them? Were the British colonies the only places to which this article was exported? Were there not governors and revenue officers in the British colonies to prevent any illicit importation there? Was the export from Ireland illicit? Was it commercial wisdom to destroy the trade itself, lest any illicit practices should creep into it? Should not the advocates for prohibition be able to answer those questions before they determined to persevere in so injurious a measure? He said, he did not believe there were any illicit

practices, and said that no man was a warmer friend than himself to the British fisheries, and to whatever tended to increase the wealth and strength of that kingdom, which he considered as essential to the prosperity of this country ; but thought the British fisheries a mere pretence for the introduction of this prohibitory duty. His motion, he said, was not against the supply, but tended to increase it ; he therefore hoped for the assistance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that he would not be deterred by the example of Spurius Malius, who lost his life by the combination of the great among his own countrymen, for being thought too kind to the poor. He concluded with calling upon the gentlemen of the South for their testimony of the facts, which he stated from information, but they could vouch from their own knowledge ; and desired their assistance on a subject of such importance to that part of the kingdom.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said it is certain the means taken to encourage our own fisheries have greatly increased the price of fish ; but this is an evil the country must submit to in every instance where she endeavours to encourage any branch of her own trade by a protecting duty. However, in this case, if the fishery had not been protected, instead of having fish dear, we should have had no Irish fish at all, and therefore the high price was a penalty to which the country cheerfully submitted, in order to promote so important a branch of her trade. That the high duty and the bounties had promoted this important branch, was obvious from a very simple fact : The year previous to that in which the duty was laid on, Ireland had imported of foreign fish to the value of 70,000*l.* the last year she had exported of her own fish to the value of 70,000*l.* making a difference of 140,000*l.* This he considered as a very great object to the country. But there were others of much greater magnitude promoted by the fishery—the increase of seamen, the increase of our marine, and of every trade and manufacture thereto subservient.

He begged leave also to observe, that the very means proposed by the right honourable gentleman had been that pursued by Parliament in promoting our fishery—they had at first laid a very small duty on the importation of foreign fish, and by degrees had raised it to its present height, from which he hoped they would not recede, as the countries that were competitors with us for trade had so many advantages from nature, that the utmost protection was scarcely sufficient to enable us to meet them even in our own market ; besides, as the Irish fisheries were last year rather unsuccessful, if the support of Parliament was now withdrawn, they must sink altogether.

Mr. CORRY said he had once the pleasure of surveying the coasts of this island ; he had then beheld its numberless spacious bays

and capacious harbours—scenes which it was impossible to view without a sigh at their desolate condition, and a wish to see them turned to purposes of utility—an extensive fishery was certainly that branch of commerce which bid fairest to enable this country to benefit by the advantages nature had bestowed, and he therefore, upon all occasions, had endeavoured to promote its interests.

Though he differed with the right honourable Secretary of State, he was ready to bestow that praise which was so much his due, for the zeal with which he espoused the interests of his immediate constituents, the citizens of Cork; and certainly if the interest of Cork only was to be considered, there could not be a moment's hesitation at letting in the foreign herrings; but there were many great objects in view—there were besides the immediate profit accruing to this country, the honour and interest of Britain; the encouragement of our fisheries laid the surest foundation for rearing and establishing a numerous body of seamen, the best defence and security of the empire, and which, as it was our duty, he knew it was our inclination to promote; but if our ports were to be open to foreign fish, we should deprive both Great Britain and ourselves of the benefits arising from this great nursery of seamen.

The Swedes, he observed, from some natural advantages, were able to sell their herrings at 9s. the barrel. Here a barrel, not containing so many fish, could not be afforded less than 11. 2s. 9d. The Swedes then, even against our duty of 10s. per barrel, could send their fish cheaper to our market than we could, if other encouragements had not been given; he could not therefore consent to take away any part of the duty, as he knew such an act would ruin our own fishery.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented to the House, according to order,

A bill for continuing an act, intitled an act for facilitating the trade and intercourse between this kingdom and the United States of America.

A bill for granting to his Majesty the duty therein mentioned, to be paid to the trustees of the Royal Exchange.

A bill for granting the sum of 4000*l.* to the trustees of the linen manufacture.

A bill for granting the sum of 6000*l.* to the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, for the purposes therein mentioned.

Which were received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1788.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said he had a petition in his hand, signed by a numerous and industrious body of men. That trade had left the Western part of this city and gone to the East, by which that part of the city where the petitioners dwelt, was running to rapid decay; that there were several respectable names signed to it, in order to give it further weight with Parliament; that the name of a nobleman [Earl of Meath] equally respected for his public and private virtues, as for his humanity and benevolence, appeared as the first signature; that petitioners fullest hopes of redress centered in the present patriotic administration; that they shewed the most unbounded zeal and loyalty on the return of their beloved Marquis of Buckingham, whom they beheld as their patron and protector. He regretted the absence of his right honourable colleague, who had always supported and served the petitioners, and who could point out clearly their real situation; that for his part, he was unable to do their petition the justice it merited;—their case, the facts stated therein, their poverty, and the humanity of the House, would be the best pleaders in their cause. He was glad to see a right honourable member [Mr. Fitzherbert] just come in, and therefore must remind him that the petitioners were those poor, yet honest manufacturers, who in the warmth of their zeal, yoked their necks to the Vice-royal carriage, and drew the representative of Majesty to his royal mansion; that the House had formerly exonerated them from other taxes; that they were willing to pay the old watch taxes, but that they were totally unable to pay the police, which was now double the old watch tax; that even if they were able to pay the police, they thought it hard to pay for men who never visited their part of the city.

A petition of the inhabitants of the barony of Donore, in the county of Dublin, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that several of the petitioners are industrious manufacturers, and that a greater part depend on the scanty produce of their annual labour, which, for some period back, hath afforded them a very precarious and inconsiderable subsistence; that for these many years past the ancient parochial taxes have been collected by the parish officers with much difficulty, by reason of the very declining state of said barony; that from a conviction of the extreme indigence of the petitioners, the House thought proper to exempt them from the operation of the late acts for paving, lighting and cleansing the streets; that the petitioners being comprehended under the police law, are subject to the payment of the tax thereof, which, being one-half higher than any other rate or tax whatsoever to which the petitioners have been heretofore accustomed, must, and will, if continued, prove highly injurious and oppressive; that

the petitioners are sensible that the legislature, on passing of said law, did intend that taxation and protection should go hand in hand; but are sorry to observe that such their intention has not been at all fulfilled, the petitioners having been left totally defenceless since the police institution, as a stationary, or patrol watchman, has scarcely ever been seen on duty in any part of said barony; that the petitioners are most anxiously desirous of seeing the public peace fully preserved, and every species of riot, outrage and combination effectually suppressed, and have hitherto been, and are still willing, to exert themselves to the utmost of their power for attaining the laudable and desirable purposes aforesaid; that the petitioners, far from presuming to dictate to the House, do most humbly conceive, that were they placed on the footing of some of the late parochial regulations or laws by which the city watch was governed, they would be enabled to protect themselves at an expense more suitable to their capacity than that which they are at present liable to pay; and therefore praying relief.

A petition of the Company of Undertakers of the Grand Canal, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that previous to the year 1772, considerable sums had been expended by Parliament in making canals, particularly a canal from Dublin to the river Shannon, and in endeavouring to render many of the rivers of this kingdom navigable, without any work of considerable advantage having been executed by means of such expenditure; that by an act of Parliament of the eleventh and twelfth years of his present Majesty's reign, for granting and continuing certain duties therein mentioned, for the use of the Corporation for promoting and carrying on inland navigation, after reciting, "that the method of carrying on inland navigation altogether at the public expence might be found in many instances inconvenient, burdensome, and attended with great delay, and that the improvement of this kingdom might be promoted, if private subscribers could be found, who would carry on such works at their own expence, and that it would be reasonable to give to such subscribers some encouragement so to do," it was enacted; "that it should be lawful for the Navigation Board, whensoever it should appear to them that the making or completing any inland navigation would be too expensive to be completed at the public charge alone, to transfer the property of such navigation to any private subscribers who should be willing to complete the same, and enter into a contract for so doing in the manner in said act specified, and that it should be lawful for the said Navigation Board, for the encouragement of such subscribers, to give them out of such duties an aid towards carrying on such navigation,

not exceeding in the whole one-sixth part of the sum which should be necessary for carrying on and compleating such navigation;" that induced by the encouragement held out by said act of Parliament, certain individuals in the year 1772, immediately after passing of said act, and in pursuance thereof, entered into a written contract with the Navigation Board for the completion of the grand canal to Monasterevan on the river Barrow within the term of six years, in which time it was then supposed said work might be executed, on their receiving, in pursuance of said act, a transfer of the works then begun in the line to Monasterevan, and the one-sixth part of the sum at which the expence of said work was estimated; that the said engagement had been scarcely formed between the said individuals and the Navigation Board, when it appeared to the public, to Parliament, and to said individuals, that the said contract was too narrow to answer the end of the above recited act, and to give to the community the full benefit of its proffered liberality in the promotion of inland navigation; that in consequence thereof, and in the very same session, a law was enacted, in pursuance of which the present company, on the 21st day of July, 1772, became incorporated, by the name of The Company of Undertakers of the Grand Canal; and by said act, the very same property in the line to Monasterevan, that had been transferred by the Navigation Board to said individuals, (who formed an inconsiderable part of said company) together with the property of so much more of the grand canal as had been formed or purchased in the line to the Shannon, were transferred by the legislature to the said company, without any condition, restriction or limitation in point of time or otherwise for the completion thereof; and the said company were so incorporated for the express purpose of extending the said works, not only to the river Barrow at Monasterevan, but to the river Shannon, the river Boyne, the river Liffey, and the town of Athy; that the said company so incorporated, conceiving that the said contract entered into between the Navigation Board and said individuals was virtually superseded by the said act of incorporation, and that it was apparent, from the two aforesaid acts, that it was the clear sense of the legislature that they should be reimbursed in one-sixth part of the money *bona fide* expended on the works so intrusted to their government, made considerable subscriptions towards defraying the expence thereof, and entered into the execution of said works, without the precaution of entering into a contract in writing, or of procuring any legal security that the terms so held out by Parliament should be actually complied with; but the Navigation Board agreed to give them one sixth part of the sum necessary for the compleating the same, relying on the interest the said company had in laying out their own money with economy and effect, and in finishing the works which were to reward their labours in as short a period as possible; that the company having proceeded in the execution of

said undertaking, the Navigation Board, in pursuance of their agreement, from time to time drew warrants on his Majesty's Treasury, payable (out of the said duties) to the company, sufficient evidence being laid before said Board, according to the directions of said first in part recited act, that five times the amount of such warrants had been previously expended on said works; that though the expence of said navigation to Monastereven had been estimated at 60,000*l.* and said individuals previous to the incorporation of the company had by said written contract agreed to execute the same in six years for said sum, yet in the year 1778, six years after the time of incorporation of said company, and the commencement of the work, and after warrants had been drawn by the Navigation Board in pursuance of said last mentioned act of Parliament in favour of the said Company for upwards of 10,000*l.* in consequence of an expenditure of upwards of 50,000*l.* of their own private property, the legislature, by an act of that year, (the 17th and 18th of his present Majesty's reign) continued the before-mentioned duties, amounting to about 7000*l.* per annum to the Navigation Board for seven years, expressly reciting, " that they had entered into contract with private subscribers who had undertaken to execute several works, to give to such subscribers an aid of the one-sixth part of the sums by them from time to time expended in making and completing the same, and that if the said duties were not continued the public faith would be violated and broken, and that the works so contracted for would probably be discontinued and totally deserted by means of such breach of compact, to the injury of such private subscribers and the great loss and detriment of the kingdom; and said duties were thereby so continued for the express purpose of preventing such injuries, and effectually enabling the Navigation Board to carry on complete works of such public advantage; that no aid, in pursuance of said first mentioned act, having been at any time given or promised by the Navigation Board to any subscribers, persons or company whatsoever, except to the said Company, they therefore were considered and considered themselves to be the sole objects of said act of the seventeenth and eighteenth of his present Majesty, and encouraged thereby, notwithstanding many unforeseen difficulties and expences had arisen in the prosecution of said works, proceeded thereon with additional spirit, without its having ever occurred to, them to consider whether any contract in writing between them and the Navigation Board, was or was not necessary to entitle them to the encouragement offered to the public by the eleventh and twelfth of his Majesty, and appropriated by the seventeenth and eighteenth of his Majesty, by so strong an implication to the works carrying on by the Company; that in some time afterwards said Company having expended the greater part of the money at first subscribed, and finding the residue totally inadequate to complete their original objects, many of their

members, wearied out with the difficulties and expences of said undertaking, sold or forfeited their stock, and some of the remaining members had it in contemplation to finish said canal to the town of Naas, and there to stop; but many of the present members of the Company finding said Company in possession and receipt of said aid, and from the clear and explicit terms of said last mentioned act of Parliament, not doubting a continuance of it, and trusting to the well-known liberality of Parliament, that if even said aid should be insufficient for the attainment of its objects they would not permit men to be sufferers, who should advance their money for the public service, they were induced to purchase the stock of such members as withdrew themselves, and the Company in this confidence then resolved to continue their works at least to Monastereven; that the petitioners in the interval between the time of their incorporation in the year 1772, and the 1st day of October, 1784, expended on said works a sum of 148,501l. 4s. of which the sum of 123,751l. was their own private property, and having from time to time, in pursuance of said first in part recited act, laid before the Navigation Board satisfactory proofs of the due expenditure thereof, they from time to time received from said Board warrants on his Majesty's Treasury (payable out of said duties) for several sums, amounting together to the sum of 24,750l. 4s. being the one-sixth part of their said expenditure, of which warrants to the amount of 14,838l. 4s. have been at sundry times discharged, and five of said warrants for the residue of said sum, viz. 9912l. still remain unpaid; that the said works requiring constant supplies of money, and the time of the payment of said warrants being very uncertain, (on account of said duties being otherwise applied) though by the terms of said first mentioned act, and by said agreement entered into between the said board and the petitioners, the petitioners were led to expect prompt payment of said aid, they were therefore under a necessity of disposing of said warrants to individuals, for which the petitioners received the full amount on subjecting themselves to the legal interest thereof, until the said warrants should be discharged, which interest they have ever since regularly paid; that shortly after the said 1st day of October, 1784, the Navigation Board were by a vote of the House incapacitated from further acting under the powers vested in them, and therefore did not afterwards issue any warrants in pursuance of said agreement, though the petitioners (as no one of said works was then finished, and the same were too far proceeded upon to be all together deserted) were under a necessity of expending further sums, which they accordingly did, in an humble confidence that the legislature would on the dissolution of said board, and the appropriation of said duties, at the least provide for the due performance of said agreement entered into by the said board on behalf of the public with them; that from the

said 1st day of October, 1784, to the 1st day of February, 1787, the petitioners expended in the execution of said works a further sum of 70,005*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.* of their own private property, and on that expenditure humbly conceive themselves to be justly entitled to the one-sixth part thereof, which with the amount of said five undischarged warrants, and the interest thereof from their respective duties, amounted in the whole on the 1st of February, 1787, to the sum of 25,024*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* the particulars of which appear in the annexed account; that in the session of Parliament of 1785 the House having entered into resolutions, that "it would be expedient that a fund should be provided for paying so much of the warrants issued by the Navigation Board as the commissioners of imprest accounts should certify the just expenditure of on the several navigations for which such sums were granted, and also for the payment of such warrants as had been issued to companies of undertakers, pursuant to their contracts with the Navigation Board, and that in accounting for such expenditure no allowance should be given by said commissioners for any premium, discount or interest, which should exceed legal interest," the petitioners furnished the said commissioners with a statement of their demands, upon which the said commissioners reported to the House in the last session, "that they had not proceeded to make declaration thereon, the conditions of a contract (supposed by them to have been) entered into between the Navigation Board and the petitioners not having been in their opinion so far complied with as to warrant the said commissioners passing of said account;" or to that effect, by which contract mentioned in said report, the said commissioners meant said written contract entered into between said individuals and the Navigation Board for the execution of said canal to the river Barrow at Monasterevan within six years, which was entered into previous to the existence of the petitioners as a corporation, and to the terms of which they therefore humbly submit they could not be bound, more especially as the works undertaken by the petitioners on their incorporation greatly exceeded in magnitude and number the single work mentioned in said written contract, and were in their nature incapable of execution in said term of six years: and it appears that the same was fully understood by the legislature at the time of incorporation of the petitioners; for by the recital of the act of their incorporation, it is stated that the works undertaken by them would require an expenditure of 150,000*l.* and upwards, and the capital stock of the company is thereby made 150,000*l.* with the power to subscribe further sums, and to borrow such in addition to such subscriptions as might be necessary for executing said recited works, which extent of capital and powers would have been totally useless and nugatory had Parliament supposed that the whole of said works could have been completed for the limited sum of 60,000*l.*;

that the petitioners being informed that it was the intention of the legislature to dissolve the Navigation Board, and to appropriate by act of Parliament the said duties to the encouragement of inland navigation, and conceiving that though they had not a strictly legal right, yet that under the circumstances of their case they had a just and equitable claim upon the public for the said sum of 25,024*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* they applied in the last session of Parliament by petition to the House, stating the grounds of said claim, and praying that, if necessary, they might be heard by their counsel in support thereof; that upon hearing the petitioners' counsel, and upon consideration of the merits and circumstances of their case, the House on the 8th day of March, 1787, one hundred and sixty-four members being present, resolved, "that the conduct and exertions of the petitioners entitled them to the countenance and protection of Parliament;" that the petitioners rested in an humble hope that Parliament would, in compliance with the spirit and meaning of the above resolution, admit the equitable claim made by them, or at least make some adequate compensation for the heavy losses they sustained in carrying on their works; that without any interference on the part of the petitioners, a bill was soon after said resolution brought into Parliament and passed into a law, whereby, among other things, it was enacted, "that as soon as the commissioners of imprest accounts should certify to the vice-treasurers or their deputies that the petitioners had entered into a recognizance before the barons of the Exchequer in the penalty of 24,000*l.* conditioned that they should within five years compleat a good and sufficient still-water navigation from the bridge of Monaster-evan to Athy, and certify that the said warrants of 9912*l.* had been cancelled, it should be lawful for the proper officer of his Majesty's treasury to give to the petitioners debentures to the amount of 9912*l.* in lieu of the warrants so cancelled, and also for 2088*l.* making 12,000*l.* bearing interest at 4*l.* per cent. said 12,000*l.* to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all demands or accounts whatsoever;" that the petitioners still trusting to the well-known justice and liberality of Parliament, that when their case should be better understood they would be considered as entitled to payment of a sum at least equal to one-sixth part of their expenditure, either legally, equitably, or by way of bounty, have not taken any measure to entitle themselves to the payment of said sum of 12,000*l.*; that even if the petitioners had been inclined to accept of said sum in full satisfaction of all their demands on the public, yet they have been hitherto incapable of complying with the terms of said act, inasmuch as it would have been necessary for that purpose to have provided a sum of 34,000*l.* and upwards, viz. a sum of 10,000*l.* and upwards for discharging said five undischarged warrants with the interest thereof, and 24,000*l.* and upwards, (at which sum said canal from Monaster-

even to Athy had been estimated) in order to comply with the conditions of said act, which sum the petitioners found themselves unable to raise, being under a necessity of providing further considerable sums for the perfecting of the canal between Dublin and Monasterevan, being oppressed with a debt of 80,000*l.* and not in receipt of a revenue much more than sufficient to pay the interest of said debt, and to defray their necessary current expences; that the petitioners, not solely relying on the justice and equity of their claim, throw themselves on the bounty, the liberality and the protection of the legislature, in an humble confidence that when their situation shall be perfectly known, Parliament will not finally permit men to be sufferers who have advanced their money and sacrificed their labours to the public service, and that the advantages of inland navigation will be secured to this country, and extended according to the original intentions of Parliament, and the anxious wishes of the nation; that though the advantages already arising to the public from the canal are universally felt and acknowledged, yet on the side of the petitioners nothing appears, save trouble, expence, difficulties and disappointments; that many of the petitioners have for these last fifteen years paid a close and unremitted attention to the execution of said undertaking, to the great diminution of their property, during the greatest part of which time they persevered in efforts to surmount difficulties by many thought to be insurmountable; that the petitioners having since the last session of Parliament expended a further sum of 23,229*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* for the purpose of putting said canal into a perfect and permanent state, the whole of their expenditure thereon, exclusive of any aid received from the public, amounts to the sum of 226,802*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* and notwithstanding the greatest part of said sum was disbursed many years ago, the petitioners have received no profit therefrom, the revenue arising from said undertaking being even now little more than sufficient to pay the interest of said debt of 80,000*l.* and to defray the expence of repairs, and the establishment necessary for conducting said work; that the holders of the before-mentioned five undischarged warrants finding the payment thereof unprovided for by Parliament (except on the conditions aforesaid) insist that the petitioners are liable thereto, and threaten to sue them, as being collateral security for the payment thereof at his Majesty's Treasury, according to the terms of said warrants; that though the petitioners do not wish to conceal that they have hopes of receiving at length from the tolls on said navigation some (though by no means an adequate) recompence for their perseverance, trouble and expence, yet they humbly submit, that being invited by the legislature to commence said undertaking, and encouraged by it to proceed therein, and the whole of the advantages hitherto arising therefrom being on the side of the public, it is not unreasonable in them to expect that the bounty of

the public should free them from that part of their present difficulties and embarrassments, by payment of the one-sixth part of the expence of the works, even without entering into a very minute investigation of their legal rights thereto; that the petitioners have from time to time made some progress in the extension of the canal towards the river Shannon and the river Liffey, which from the state of their affairs they must discontinue, unless assisted to proceed therein by the aid or bounty of Parliament; that the petitioners, finding that Parliament had by said act of last session directed that surveys and estimates should be made of certain lines of navigation therein mentioned, and among others, of certain extensions of the Grand Canal, for the purpose of receiving proposals for executing the same with the aid of Parliament, the petitioners have lately employed skilful persons to make surveys, plans and estimates of the following extensions of the Grand Canal, viz. the extension from Monasterevan to Athy as mentioned in said act of last session, an extension of the Grand Canal towards Philipstown by or near Edenderry, and a navigable communication with the harbour of Dublin across James's-street; that it appears by said estimates that said navigation between Monasterevan and Athy would cost 24,076*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*; that an extension of the canal near to Edenderry would cost 27,982*l.* —*s.* 8*d.*; and that the communication with the harbour of Dublin would cost the sum of 21,903*l.* —*s.* 2*d.*; and that it would cost the company a further sum of 10,000*l.* in order to procure an ample supply of water for the present canal and said proposed extensions in dry summers; said several sums amounting together to 83,961*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*; which sum, considering how much the estimates of the expence of great undertakings are almost invariably found to fall short of the real expenditure, the petitioners are convinced is much less than said works would really cost; that the afore said sum of 25,024*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* being the one-sixth of the money expended by the petitioners upon said undertaking before the 1st day of February, 1787, (including the amount of the five undischarged warrants) still remains unpaid; and since the 1st day of February, 1787, there hath accrued due in respect of the interest of said undischarged warrants to and for the 14th day of January, 1788, a further sum of 566*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*; and the petitioners since the 1st day of February have expended in perfecting of said canal, and towards procuring a sufficient supply of water for the same, a further sum of 23,229*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* one-sixth part of which is 3871*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* which several last-mentioned sums being added together amount to the sum of 29,462*l.* 11*s.* 4½*d.* and which sum the petitioners submit they have, under the circumstances of their case, a right to expect from the bounty of the public, within the true spirit, meaning and intention of the said first herein mentioned act, and to which they conceive they would have been legally entitled if the necessi-

ty of entering into a contract in writing with the Navigation Board had not by some fatality been overlooked; that the payment of said sum of 12,000*l.* part of the said sum of 29,462*l.* 11*s.* 4½*d.* being provided for as aforesaid, the petitioners are willing and desirous, upon provision being in like manner or otherwise made for the payment of the sum of 17,462*l.* 11*s.* 4½*d.* and also for the further sum of 13,993*l.* 11*s.* being one-sixth part of said sums necessary to be expended in the execution of said proposed works, to enter into recognizances for the completion of said three proposed extensions of the Grand Canal, viz. a still-water navigation to Athy, an extension of the canal towards the Shannon to some place not further distant from Edenderry than one mile, and a navigable communication with the river Liffey at Dublin, across James's-street, and also to pay said undischarged warrants, for which purposes it will in such case be necessary for the petitioners to provide a sum of 50,000*l.* and upwards, in addition to said sums of 12,000*l.* 17,462*l.* 11*s.* 4½*d.* and 13,993*l.* 11*s.*; that said three several last-mentioned sums, with the sums already received by the petitioners, do not amount to more than one-sixth part of the money which on the completion of said proposed extensions of the canal will have been expended by the petitioners on said works, executed and to be executed by them; and the petitioners do not consider one sixth part of the expenditure a sufficient encouragement for the prosecution of inland navigations in this kingdom, diversified with hills and vallies, abounding with rivers to be crossed, and in many places incumbered with bogs of vast extent, and in a country yet unimproved, where collieries and manufactures, the great source of immediate profit to canals in other countries, are not yet established; and the petitioners, from their past experience and their knowledge that many unforeseen difficulties constantly arise in works of this kind, would not be induced by that aid to commence a new work; but wishing to further interest the nation in their behalf, and hoping for relief from the equity or bounty of the legislature, they most humbly submit the above mode of relief to their consideration, as being one which, as they are now circumstanced, would be satisfactory to them, and as far as they can learn, highly satisfactory and advantageous to the public; that the petitioners think it unnecessary to point out the advantages which would result to the public from the extension of the canal to Athy, as the legislature appears to be already apprized of the benefits which will arise therefrom; that by the communication with the harbour of Dublin the present canal and all future extensions of it will be highly benefited, inasmuch as the present expence of the carriage of all goods imported into or exported from the harbour of Dublin, and to or from thence carried into and from the interior parts of the country, may be further diminished, and may be brought into and from the centre of the

town, and to and from the ware-houses of the merchants, at less than one-half of the present expence; that by the extension of the canal towards Edenderry the benefits of inland navigation will be in a considerable degree communicated to the counties of Meath, Westmeath and Longford, and to the province of Connaught; and the company have it in contemplation, as soon as said extension towards Edenderry shall be finished, to further extend the same to Philipstown, and from thence in the first instance to the river Shannon at or near Banagher, by the Maiden and Brusna rivers, and afterwards through last-mentioned counties to the collieries at Lough Allen, with a branch to the river Shannon near Athlone; that the petitioners beg leave to point out that the bounty or aid they now seek for is not sought to be paid out of the duties appropriated for the service of the state and to the use of his Majesty's government, but out of said duties specially granted to his Majesty for the purpose of promoting inland navigation; and the petitioners, with the utmost deference to the judgment of the legislature, beg leave to suggest that said purpose cannot be better carried into effect, or the advantages of inland navigation more generally diffused through the kingdom, than by said proposed extensions of the grand canal, already navigable to so great a distance from the capital; and therefore praying the House to take the premises into consideration, and to make provision out of the said duties for paying to the petitioners the sum of 17,524*l.* 14*s.* 8½*d.* in addition to said sum of 12,000*l.* mentioned in the said act of Parliament of the last session, together with the said further aid of 13,993*l.* 1*s.* on condition of the petitioners paying off the said warrants for 9912*l.* and entering into recognizance to execute the said three proposed extensions of the Grand Canal in seven years, viz. a still-water navigation to Athy, an extension of the canal towards the Shannon at or near Banagher by Philipstown to some place not further distant from Edenderry than one mile, and a navigable communication with the river Liffey at Dublin across James's-street; or else to make provision for the payment to the petitioners of the before-mentioned sum of 29,524*l.* 14*s.* 8½*d.* to be applied by them in payment of the said warrants, and in part discharge of their said debt; or to grant to the petitioners such other relief as to the House may seem meet.

The account referred to in the annexed petition:

1784, Oct. 1.—Sum expended by the company on the works from their incorporation in 1772, to the 1st day of February, 1784, (from which last-mentioned time the Navigation Board ceased to issue any warrants) 148,501*l.*

4*s.*

On proofs of the expenditure of this sum, warrants on the Treasury were from time to time granted to the company by the Navigation Board of the one-sixth thereof, being	£.	s.	d.
Of these warrants payments have been at various periods made at the Treasury to the amount in the whole of	24750	4	—
	14838	4	—

And warrants still remain unpaid to the amount of

9912 — —

The navigation funds having been applied by the Navigation Board to various defultory purposes, the warrants issued by them were not paid at the Treasury at the times they were issued; the company, therefore, were obliged, in order to enable them to carry on their works, to borrow money on such warrants, and pay interest for the same, between the times of their being issued and paid.

£. s. d.

Interest paid by the company on the several warrants which have been paid at the Treasury between the respective periods of issuing and paying the same —

2728 1 5

On account of which interest the company received a warrant from the Navigation Board for 1000l. which warrant was paid —

1000 — —

1728 1 5

Interest paid by the company on the said unpaid warrants for 9912l. from the respective periods of issuing the same to the 1st February, 1787

1716 19 5

1787, Feb. 1.—Sum expended by the company of their own money on said works, from 1st October, 1784, to 1st February 1787, 70,005l. 11s. 3½d.

Of which the one-sixth part is —

11667 11 10½

Sum total claimed by the company in their petition to Parliament in the last session

25024 12 8½

1788, Jan. 14.—Interest paid by the company on said unpaid warrants for 9912l. from 1st February, 1787, to 14th January, 1788 — —

566 6 9

25590 19 5

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	25590	19	5½
Sum expended by the company of their own money on said works, from 1st February, 1787, to 14th January, 1788, 23,229l. 11s. 7d.			
One-sixth part of which is	—	—	3871 11 11
Sum total to the 14th day of January, 1788	29462	11	4½
The Grand Canal was the principal object of the legislature in granting the duties in 1772, and in continuing them in 1778.			
From 1772 to 1787, fifteen years, those duties estimated at 7000l. a year, amounted to	—	—	105000 — —
Of which the canal company, the principal object thereof, have received, exclusive of the 1000l. warrant for interest	—	14838	4 —

Mr. MOORE rose, he said, to submit to the House a motion on a subject, which in all probability was never brought forward before. He took notice that to-morrow was set down for balloting a committee to try the merits of the petition complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Cavan; and though the law for regulating controverted elections was exceedingly just in all parts, and gave the most ample justice to the contending parties, yet in respect to the members of the House, it was highly improper, if not unjust; for what did the law say? Why, if a member did not attend at the call of the House, he was to be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and what was the consequence? Why, the defaulters prevailed on some of their friends to move that they should be discharged out of custody, without fees. In order to put an end to this practice, he should move the following resolution:

“Resolved, that when any question is proposed for the discharge out of the custody of the Serjeant Arms, of any member or members who shall have been ordered into his custody for not attending on the day appointed for taking into consideration any petition, complaining of an undue election or return, all members then in custody for such non-attendance do withdraw.”

The resolution passed unanimously.

A petition of the sovereign, burgeses and principal inhabitants of the town of Belfast, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the export of black cattle from this kingdom hath encreased to so great a degree as to be severely felt in the advanced prices of flesh meat, leather and tallow, every addition to the price of which must necessarily enhance the price of labour, add to the cost of our own manufactures, and render them still less able to cope with those of

other nations, either in our own or foreign markets ; that it is the policy of every wise commercial nation, either to prohibit the export of the raw material of any manufacture, or if allowed to be exported, to lay on it such an export duty as may give a decided preference to the home above the foreign purchaser ; and the petitioners humbly conceive that Ireland, yet young in trade and commerce, ought to avail herself of the example set by nations knowing and experienced in both ; that the revenue sustains a considerable diminution from the export of black cattle alive ; that the curing of salt provisions for export (a trade hitherto belonging almost exclusively to Ireland) is and must be diminished, and in a greater or less degree transferred to other countries ; that the agriculture, and of course the population of this kingdom, in which the riches and strength of the nation consist, must be diminished in proportion as grazing farms are multiplied and enlarged, until the face of the country, instead of human beings and golden harvests, shall exhibit little else than dreary solitudes and herds of brutes ; that the petitioners, however, do not wish to see the export of black cattle prohibited, but only checked, by the imposition of a small duty, which, whilst it will add to the public revenues, may benefit the nation, by moderating the evil complained of ; that the petitioners would not at present presume to ask for more than an additional duty of five shillings a head on black cattle exported alive, which they trust may in some degree moderate the evil ; and therefore praying relief.

Mr. PONSONBY presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his present Majesty's reign, entitled an act for establishing a post-office within this kingdom ; which was received and read the first time.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1788.

Pursuant to order, the House was called over, when it appeared that there were present, besides the Speaker, twenty-nine members.

The House then proceeded to draw the names of thirty-eight members, of whom fifteen were to form a committee on the Cavan election ; several gentlemen, who swore that they were above sixty years of age, were excused ; and upon the name of Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, being drawn, that right honourable gentleman came to the table, and made affidavit, that if he should be compelled to serve on that committee, great inconvenience and delay must arise to the public business.

The SPEAKER stated the law, which, he said, does not excuse the absence of any member who shall be able to serve, unless his serving shall be attended with great and manifest detriment.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH.—If the House shall think the excuse of the right honourable gentleman sufficient, and upon that ground shall be of opinion to exempt him, and only him, from the trouble of serving on this committee, I can have no objection; but I think that the words of the law, *unable to serve without manifest detriment*, can only refer to bodily health; however I am ready to admit that the situation of the right honourable baronet may excuse him singly, but I think the principle cannot be extended to any other person.

Mr. CLEMENTS desired the honourable baronet to turn to the journals, and he would find that the right honourable gentleman who now so worthily filled the chair of that House had, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, made the very same excuse, and it had been accepted.

The SPEAKER confirmed Mr. Clements's assertion.

The Honourable DENIS BROWNE observed that if the principle of excusing the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on account of the public business which he was engaged in, should be once admitted, that principle might be extended to all the honourable and right honourable placemen around him; but as Chancellors of the Exchequer, Commissioners of the Revenue, &c. &c. were extremely well paid for their trouble, he could not see how they were entitled to any such exemption.

Mr. BERESFORD admitted that they were paid for their attendance in another place, but certainly, he hoped, not for their attendance here; however, if it should be his fortune to be drawn upon that committee, all he could say was, that he feared it would be the cause of detaining the members of the House longer in attendance than otherwise would be the case.

The question being put, "whether the House do admit the excuse of the right honourable Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, as sworn at the table?"

There appeared Ayes	—	63
Noes	—	66

His name was accordingly set down.

The agents on both sides for the Cavan election then retired, and having struck off the number allowed by law, the names of the remaining fifteen were called over, and are as follow:

Sir H. Cavendish, Bart.		Hon. Wm. Skeffington,
Sir W. Richardson, Bart.		Wm. Penefather, Esq;

Jo'n Metge, Esq;	Rogerson Cotter, Esq;
Sir R. Mulgrave, Bart.	John Richardson, Esq;
Robert Jephson, Esq;	Edward Tighe, Esq;
Major Richard Vowell,	S. Hayes, Drumboe-castle,
Robert S. Carew, Esq;	N. L. Tottenham, Esq;
J. Francis Cradock, Esq;	

Before the committee were sworn, the Speaker called upon the counsel and agents of the petitioner, to know whether they had any charge to make against the returning officer, as in that case the law obliged the committee to try such charge, and they should be accordingly sworn to try the same.

Mr. SHERIDAN, one of the counsel for the petitioner, said they had no charge of corruption to alledge against the returning officer, but they charged him with misconduct arising from error of judgment.

The SPEAKER here read that part of the act which relates to the conduct of returning officers, and a member calling for the petition, it was also read at full.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN said that the counsel of the petitioner having admitted that the returning officer had not erred through corruption, it becomes unnecessary to charge the committee with the trial of his conduct; there was therefore no necessity to swear them to that point.

This being the sense of the House, the committee were sworn to try the merits of the election.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of ways and means, the following resolution, which was agreed to by the House.

Resolved that it is the opinion of this committee, that every person selling by retail, or otherwise dealing in coffee, within the city of Dublin and the liberties adjoining, except as an importer thereof, and except such persons as shall be licensed to sell tea or groceries, at any time between the 25th day of March, 1788, and the 25th day of March, 1789, shall pay a duty of 20s. and in any other part of this kingdom a duty of 10s.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented to the House, according to order, a bill for regulating and extending the tobacco trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill for promoting the linen manufacture, Mr. Mason in the chair.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he rose to offer the committee a resolution which he conceived to be of high importance to the welfare of the kingdom, and which, in his opinion, would greatly tend to promote the linen manufacture; but first, he begged leave to disclaim all local prejudice and narrow views, arising from particularities of interest; for though his dearest connexions lay in the South, he entertained the highest regard for the people of Ulster, to whose industry and unwearied perseverance this nation stands so highly indebted for the great perfection of her staple manufacture. However he thought that, as in a healthy body the blood flows without obstruction from the heart to the remotest extremities, so in the body politic, that which is the life-blood of trade should not be directed to any particular part to the injury of all the others; his motion, therefore, which should be founded on the laws, while it tended to promote the interests of the North, should not disregard the interests of the other three provinces.

He said when the Linen Board was originally instituted, it was composed equally of gentlemen from the four provinces, in order that they might be the better judges of the encouragement that was fit to be given in each province, and that they might not only know how to suit such encouragement to the different soils, but also to the temper, habits and customs of their different inhabitants. For a number of years the provinces had allotted to each 2000*l.* per annum, which was intended to cause the South and the West, blessed by nature with a fertile soil, to become the storehouse of the North; this was not, however, the point he was now contending for, he only desired an equitable division of the encouragement granted by Parliament, and he desired it in a bill intended to promote the raising of flax-seed and the exportation of linen, two objects in which hitherto the North had an advantage of more than fifty to one over the other provinces of the kingdom.

As to linen, he said, there could indeed be no competition between Ulster and the other provinces; the degree of excellence to which Ulster had arrived, while it set a worthy example to follow, put her out of the danger of rivalry; the coarse manufactures of the other provinces would serve to assort a cargo, so as to bring the staple of this kingdom advantageously into competition with the manufactures of Germany and Russia in foreign markets, thus aiding, but never injuring the manufacture of Ulster.

Before he made his motion, he declared he would, if any gentleman could shew him he was in the wrong, readily retract it, and above all things, he hoped he would not be supposed to act upon the narrow principle of local partiality.

He then moved "That the sum of 7800*l.* granted to promote the linen manufacture by the raising of flax, shall be divided into four equal parts, and that each province shall receive one

fourth part and no more, of the application of which a particular account shall be kept by the trustees of the linen manufacture."

Mr. BROWNLOW.—I agree with the right honourable gentleman in his principle, that upon this occasion we should discard all local prejudices, and not suffer our minds to be swayed by any thing but the general benefit of the kingdom.

I have always considered it as very immaterial which province received the bounties, provided the purpose of those bounties was answered; it has been found that Ulster and Connaught have earned the greater part of them; when the other provinces have equal claim, then they will receive equal benefit, but till then it would be wrong to alter the mode hitherto followed; we are going on exceedingly well, and it would be exceedingly wrong to make experiments at the risk of our prosperity.

The SPEAKER rose in the committee, and said he had of late very seldom troubled gentlemen by entering into any debate, but in the present case, which so nearly concerned the prosperity of the kingdom, and which tended to make a material alteration in a law which he himself had introduced, from the date of which the linen manufacture had very much thriven, he could not think himself justifiable were he not to state his opinion on the subject.

Previous to the year 1781 a bounty of five shillings an hog-head had been allowed on flax-seed imported into Ireland; in that year it occurred to him, and it was the opinion of many gentlemen conversant in the linen trade, that this bounty was injurious to that trade, in as much as it tended to discourage the growth of flax in Ireland. He had therefore proposed that a sum equal to the annual bounty, which on an average had for some years back been given on the importation of flax-seed, should for the future be annually given to encourage the growth of flax-seed in Ireland, and that the import bounty should be discontinued.

This proposal was accordingly agreed to, the premiums for encouraging the growth of flax-seed were offered equally to every part of the kingdom, no local views were taken into contemplation; it was a great national object, and no idea of partiality or locality was suffered to interfere.

He would not presume to say that the prosperity of the linen trade was an effect of this law, but he would assert that it had commenced with it: Previous to 1780, the linen trade was sinking; from that year to the present it gradually rose from 20 to 22, 24, 26, and was at present 30 millions of yards for exportation; and therefore, though he would not say that the prosperity of the trade was owing to the regulation of 1781, he thought it would be extremely unwise to alter those regulations, or in any degree to tamper with them, while the trade continued to flourish.

There were two articles, he said, on which the linen trade essentially depend, articles which this kingdom has never yet pro-

duced a sufficient quantity, and which therefore ought, by all possible means, to be encouraged and increased; he meant flax-seed and potashes: At present the kingdom sends annually abroad 20,000*l.* for these articles, a very considerable deduction from the value of her exported linens; but this is not the worst, for even at this expence the kingdom is not always certain of a supply. In the course of the last war, the price of those articles rose so high, that the linen trade was very sensibly affected; nay, from the inclemency of seasons, without the calamity of war, it sometimes happened, as in the present year, that the northern ports of Europe being frozen up, the flax-seed could not arrive early enough for our sowing; was it not therefore wisdom to endeavour to encourage the produce of those articles at home, by which such great sums might be saved to the nation, especially as it had been proved that the flax of Irish growth was much finer, stronger, and more beautiful than any we could import?

In order to shew the effects of the premiums given on raising flax-seed, he said he would make a comparison between the five years which followed the regulation and five years preceding the war.

The average import for the five years, ending 1775, was 34,000 barrels, the average import ending 1787 was 39,000 barrels, the increase 5000 barrels. Compare this with the exportation of linen for five years, ending 1775, was twenty millions of yards, that of the five years ending 1787, was twenty-five millions of yards, so that the exportation of linen increased one-fifth, while the importation of flax-seed increased very little more than one-eighth; for, had it kept its proportion with the increased export of linen, it would, instead of 39,000 barrels, be at least 45,000 barrels; but the difference had been supplied by seed of Irish growth; add to which, the quantity of seed used in the manufacture of linseed oil, which appears to be very considerable, for in the five last years the average quantity of linseed oil annually imported was 32,000 gallons, whereas in the five years preceding the quantity was 38,000 gallons per ann. making a very considerable difference, though certainly the consumption of that article was greatly increased.

As to the conduct of the Linen Board, was he to enter into a detail thereof, he doubted not to prove to the satisfaction of the committee, that no set of men had ever deserved more of their country, or were better entitled to the thanks and approbation of Parliament. Upon the present subject how had they acted? Without favour or partiality they had divided the sum annually voted by Parliament into thirty-two equal portions of 233*l.* each, one for each county in the kingdom; these sums were given in premiums for the growth of flax-seed: if any county, from not producing flax-seed, did not claim its proportion, so much as remained unclaimed was divided among the claimants of other counties where there was a redundancy of

claims beyond their proportion of premiums; and though in no instance it had ever happened that the claims of Leinster, Connaught, or Munster, had been ineffectual, but they had always received their premiums to the full, yet the claimants of Ulster were frequently disappointed, and obliged to be content with a very small premium, because the sum allotted to that province, even aided by the unclaimed redundance of the other provinces, was infinitely too small to allow the same rate of premium on the abundant quantity of seed produced in Ulster, which could be afforded to the comparatively small quantities produced in the other provinces; so that, in fact, if any province had reason to complain of not being fairly dealt with, it was Ulster. But besides these general premiums, Munster had been offered a particular bounty of 2s. per bushel on all the flax-seed she might send to Ulster; 'twas true she had not claimed this bounty, because she had no flax-seed to send. But the truth seemed to be, that as nature never formed any country all parts of which should be equally proper for all things, so it appeared from the facts stated, that Munster was not fitted for the produce of flax, or she would have taken advantage of the many incitements held out by Parliament to encourage its growth. If then she was not fitted for this species of tillage, why should her friends endeavour to force it, or injure another province, to the soil and people of which it was congenial?

He desired gentlemen to apply their principle of action to the other manufactures, and reflect upon the consequences.

Seventeen thousand pounds were annually granted to encourage the woollen and cotton manufactures. He desired to know what the gentlemen of Munster would say, should Ulster, where there is no woollen manufacture, insist upon a fourth part of that bounty which she could not claim, being locked up with a treasurer? Or why not by the same rule make the exportation bounty provincial, though almost all the linen is exported from Leinster?

It had been advanced that the Linen Board was originally intended to be divided provincially: He appealed to the act—the act directed the members of that board to be chosen from the different provinces, in order to have the advantage of such information concerning the best means of promoting the manufacture—what soil, what people were adapted to its different branches;—but there never had been any law for dividing its fund.

He concluded with an apology, that having been a long time unused to debate, he feared he had not delivered himself with so much force as the importance of the subject demanded; he would not indeed have troubled the committee, did he not consider the present motion as tending to overthrow a law essentially necessary to the prosperity of the kingdom.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he had been for some time of opinion with the right honourable mover of the resolution, that

the bounty ought be divided amongst the several provinces, without the unclaimed overplus of one going to make good the deficiency of fund to pay the claims of another, but upon more mature reflection, he believed the method pursued by the board was the best, he did however, either in this or the next session of Parliament, hope to see some additional encouragement given to those provinces where the linen manufacture was least flourishing.

Mr. BERESFORD said the act gave the sum to be distributed as Parliament should think proper, and he thought it reasonable to apply the bounty to another part as well as Ulster, especially as it had so good an effect there; he did not imagine the increase of the manufacture was owing to the import bounty; the sum to be divided was small, and the linen board had an enormous sum of 22,000*l.* yearly;—why then not share the 7350*l.* appropriated for sowing flax-seed?

Mr. CORRY said the province of Ulster gets but five shillings an acre instead of twenty or twenty-five shillings; he thought the grant more liberal as it stood at large, and that it probably would injure the manufacture; he read from the journals a similar motion with the present, which, on debate, was negatived.

Mr. HOLMES said that Munster was happily situated, by its soil and fertility, to the growth of flax-seed.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he was in favour of the motion, and asked, if Munster was to have a share, why not Connaught?

Mr. GARDINER said it struck him at first that Ulster appropriated the whole, which he found it did not, but that the whole was open to the kingdom; then for what purpose would they give 230*l.* to any county that don't claim it? and this clause, if not claimed in four years, would be locking up the money for that time to no purpose, besides the Northerners would forbear to sow the flax-seed.

The SECRETARY OF STATE replied to what had been said, and made a comparison of a man possessed of four manors, and that he had a favoured and happy one, and laid out his all in improving it—would not the tenants on the other three have cause to complain of his neglect and partiality? He also compared it to a man with a number of children, and he had a favourite child, for whom he neglected all the rest, and gave all to one: would they not say,—feed me also—O my Father!—And he compared the present case to a man with four children, who had a favourite to whom he left his all, instead of dividing it among them. Would it not be partial and unjust, and would they not have a right to complain?

On the question being put on the motion, a division ensued,

Ayes	—	—	—	55
Noes	—	—	—	59

Mr. BERESFORD said, as the Linen Board had agreed to the resolution by the same majority it was here negatived, he would, on another opportunity, take the sense of the House on the motion again.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1788.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend an act of the twenty-sixth year of his present Majesty's reign, intitled an act for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin and certain parts adjoining thereto, and for quieting and protecting possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transporting of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain statutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his present Majesty, intitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin, and for other purposes; which was received and read the first time.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said that this bill contained a great variety of extraneous matter, which bore no manner of relation or reference to its title. He thought nothing could be more improper than introducing such foreign matter into bills; and proposed rather to follow the practice of England, where, at the end of every session, there is what they call a hotch-potch bill, into which is thrown all matter that cannot be classed under any particular head.

Mr. HARTLEY said as this bill is intended to amend an act which certainly stands in very great need of amendment, and which has given general disgust, I hope the honourable gentleman will allow time for full deliberation; I therefore move you, Sir, that the bill be read a second time on Wednesday next.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he did not at all object to the bill, but to the manner in which matter oftentimes, foreign to the titles of bills, was introduced into them.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) concurred with Sir Henry Cavendish. In the last police bill, he said, the Whiteboy-act had been revived for twenty-one years. He had occasion to consult that act, which he never dreamed of finding included in an act

for regulating the city of Dublin; but to his very great surprise he found it there, after he had given it up and supposed there was no such act in existence.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD said there was no such thing in the bill, and whatever he had introduced into it had been by the special order of the House. His reason for bringing in the bill thus early was, that there might be full opportunity for discussion and consideration, and that the House might have the advantage of the abilities of gentlemen of the law, which could not be if it was deferred till the commencement of the assizes.

The question was now put, that the bill be read a second time on Wednesday next, when the House divided,

Ayes	—	—	17
Noes	—	—	107

A motion was then made, that it be read a second time on Monday, which being negatived without a division, another motion was made, that the bill be read a second time on Saturday, which passed in the affirmative.

Mr. BERESFORD said as a right hon. gentleman intended this day to bring on a question of some expectation (tithes) he would for the present defer what he intended to offer on the subject of the provincial premiums for encouraging the growth of flaxseed.

Mr. BROOKE (of Donegal) said he thought the bill on which the right hon. gentleman had promised to deliver his opinion in the House, a bill of most essential consequence to the staple manufacture of this kingdom; and as probably there never would be a better opportunity, from the present fulness of the House, and most respectable attendance of members, to give the bill a fair, impartial, and unprejudiced consideration, he requested the right hon. gentleman would now bring forward his question.

Mr. BERESFORD said he would bring it forward as early as possible, but would not interfere with the present expectation of the House.

Mr. GRATTAN said it was not his intention to surprise the House at present, by introducing so important a subject as that of tithes; he would prefer submitting the grievances complained of by the peasantry, to a committee, who would examine if they really existed or not. That such mode of proceeding would meet with the approbation of the House he had no doubt; as the committee, by considering the magical error in its true form, would see the necessity of a commutation of tithes; a commutation that was he to propose, in the first instance, without convincing the House that the peasantry were really distressed, might bring on an opposition that he would wish, if possible, to see avoided on the present momentous subject. It was, he said, a position in politics as well as physics, that for the purpose of removing the complaint it was necessary for the physician to

know the nature of the disorder. For this purpose there were many respectable witnesses ready to attend to prove their allegations, which he was convinced would shew the necessity of a reformation being made in this mode of provision for the clergy. He therefore moved, "That a committee be appointed to enquire whether any just cause of discontent exists amongst the people of the province of Munster, or of the counties of Kilkenny or Carlow, on account of tithe or the collection of tithes; and if any, to report the same, together with their opinion thereupon.

In this committee, said he, I shall state and bring evidence of the grievances under which the wretched people labour. In this committee I shall also submit what occurs to me as the proper mode of remedy. I do not wish in the first instance to usher these matters to the House, because, as I said before, I am unwilling to risk the interest of the clergy, the cause of the poor, and the happiness of the country, upon my opinion. Let me then beseech an enquiry, from which much good and no mischief whatever can possibly result.

ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I differ altogether with my right hon. friend in the manner of proceeding which he has pointed out. I cannot think it right that the House should set this subject afloat, and disturb the minds of the people, without having some remedy to allay them; I will not, therefore, consent to the committee proposed by my right hon. friend, or to the assembling of a number of evidences on this business, for sure I am that a more effectual method to disturb the public peace could not possibly be taken. My right hon. friend allows that this is a subject of so great importance, that to finish it happily will require the utmost efforts of wisdom. If then his great abilities have not been able to form any plan that he can vouch, and positively recommend, it would be madness to agitate the subject. If he has formed any, let him, in God's name, explain it to the House; he well knows the attention and partiality which will be shewn to any measure of his.

LORD KINGSBOROUGH said he deemed an enquiry and reform in the business of tithes absolutely necessary; the exorbitance of the demand made upon the poorest creatures, and their utter incapacity to obtain justice by legal means, called loudly for the interposition of Parliament; besides the injury which the country sustained by those exactions, which prevent the improvement and cultivation of coarse grounds; for no sooner had a wretch, through hunger, sweat and labour, accomplished the reclaiming a piece of hitherto barren mountain, than the parson, who had not contributed one single mite to his assistance, immediately charged him ten shillings an acre tithe.

Colonel HOBART.—From the good effects of the acts of last session you now have the country in perfect tranquillity. If the House consents to the motion of the right hon. gentleman, you will again have all those disturbances which before those acts disgraced the country. We all know that it will be easy to find discontented people, who are ready to come to the bar and give evidence, but such people should not be encouraged.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—It is certain that the disturbances have ceased, but the discontents have not, because the grounds of them have not been removed; the disturbances have ceased, because it was understood that when the people should shew due obedience to law, this House would take their grievances into consideration—the motion of my right hon. friend proposes no more.

Colonel HOBART.—The House said it would enter into no such compact, but insisted on an obedience to the laws.

Mr. GRATTAN.—The people in the South have grievances, and one of their principal grievances is tithe—do not take it on my authority, go into a committee. It has been said in defence of clerical exactions, that though sometimes exorbitant, they have never been illegal. I deny it; and will produce proof at your bar, that exactions in some of the disturbed parts have been not exorbitant only, but illegal likewise. I will prove that, in many instances, tithe has been demanded, and paid for turf; that tithe of turf has been assessed at one or two shillings a house like hearth-money; and in addition to hearth-money, with this difference, that in the case of hearth-money, there is an exemption for the poor of a certain description; but here it is the poor of the poorest order, that is the most resistless people, who pay. I will prove to you, that men have been excommunicated by a most illegal sentence, for refusing to pay tithe of turf. I have two decrees in my hand from the Vicarial Court of Cloyne; the first excommunicating one man, the second excommunicating four men most illegally, most arbitrarily, for refusing to pay tithe of turf: nor has tithe of turf, without pretence of law or custom been a practice only; but in some part of the South, it has been a formed exaction with its own distinct and facetious appellation, the familiar denomination of smoak-money. A right to tithe of turf has been usurped against law, and a legislative power of commutation has been exercised, I suppose for familiarity of appellation and facility of collection.

I am ready, if the House will go into the enquiry, to name the men, the parish, and all the circumstances.

I understand that in some cases this demand has ceased; that is, it has been interrupted by the terror of resistance; not by a respect for the law (a sad encouragement this to disturbance) but even in some of these cases the claim has been preserved, though

the attempt has been deterred, and to an endeavour to preserve this claim, and to insert it in the body of the agreement with the parish, are we to attribute in some places, I understand, the defeat of composition and of concord.

It has been urged, the law would relieve in the case of demand for tithe of turf—but you have admitted the poverty of the peasant, and you cannot deny the expence of litigation. Sir, the law has been applied, and has not relieved.

I have authority from a person, now a most eminent judge, and some years ago a most distinguished lawyer, to affirm to this House, that he in the course of his profession, did repeatedly take exceptions to libels in the Spiritual Court for tithe of turf, and that they were uniformly over-ruled; and I have the same authority to affirm to you, that the Spiritual Courts do maintain a right to tithe for turf, and that in so doing, they have acted, and do act in gross violation of the law.

I am informed that tithe has been demanded for furze spent on the premises; and therefore, in circumstances not subject to tithe, a demand oppressive to the poor, and repugnant to the law.

Under this head the allegation is, that in some of the disturbed parishes of the South, tithe has been demanded and paid without custom, and against law; and that the Ecclesiastical Courts have allowed such demands against law; and this will be verified on oath.

The exactions of the tithe-proctor are another instance of illegality—he gets, he exacts, he extorts from the parishioners, in some of the disturbed parishes one, frequently two shillings in the pound. The clergyman's agent is then paid by the parish, and paid extravagantly. The landlord's agent is not paid in this manner, your tenants don't pay your agent ten per cent. or five per cent. or any per centage at all. What right has the clergyman to throw his agent on his parish? As well might he make them pay the wages of his butler, or his footman, or his coachman, or his postillion, or his cook.

This demand, palpably illegal, must have commenced in bribery—an illegal perquisite growing out of the abuse of power—a bribe and mercy;—as if the tithe-proctor was the natural pastoral-protector of the poverty of the peasant, against the possible oppressions of the law, and the exactions of the gospel. He was supposed to take less than his employer would exact, or the law would allow; and was bribed by the sweat of the poor for his perfidy and mercy. This original bribe has now become a stated perquisite; and, instead of being payment for moderation, it is now a per centage on rapacity. The more he extorts for the parson, the more he shall get for himself.

Are there any decent clergymen who will defend such a practice? Will they allow that the men they employ are ruffians, who would cheat the parson, if they did not plunder the poor; and

that the clerical remedy against connivance, is to make the poor pay a premium for the encrease of that plunder and exaction of which they themselves are the objects?

I excuse the tithe-proctor; the law is in fault which gives great and summary powers to the indefinite claims of the church, and suffers both to be vested in the hands, not only of the parson, but of a wretch who follows his own nature, when he converts authority into corruption, and law into speculation.

I have seen a catalogue of some of their charges; so much for potatoes; so much for wheat; so much for oats; so much for hay—all exorbitant; and after a long list of unconscionable demands for the parson, comes in a speculation for the proctor; two shillings in the pound for proctorage—that is, for making a charge, for whose excess and extravagance the proctor ought not to have been paid, but punished.

Thus speculation has now become a law; the proctor's fees, paid at first, for a low valuation, are now in some cases added to a full one; and the parish is obliged to pay ten per cent. to the proctor, for the privilege of paying the full tithe to the parson.

Under this head the allegation is, that the tithe-proctors in certain parishes of the South, do ask and extort from the poor parishioners one or two shillings in the pound under the description of proctorage—a fee at once illegal and oppressive; and this they are ready to verify at your bar.

It has been said, that an equity has been always observed in favour of the tiller of the soil. This, I understand, will be controverted, and it will be proved, that in some of the disturbed parishes, the demands of the following articles will be found to pay tithe—wheat, potatoes, barley, bere, rye, flax, hemp, sheep, lambs, milch-cows, turf, pigs, apples, peaches, bees, cabbage, ozers; in some, oblations, easter-offerings, burial-money.

I understand that every thing, of any consequence, which is tithed in any part of Ireland, is tithed in Munster; that potatoes, which are tithed in no other part of Ireland, are tithed here—and that each article is, in most of the disturbed parts, tithed higher than in any other part of Ireland.

I understand that it will appear, that in some parts of Kerry, they tithe potatoes 1l.—wheat 16s.—barley 13s.—oats 12s.—hay 2s.

In Kerry they do not measure by the acre, but the spade. They reckon, as I am informed, the breadth of their potatoe-ridge, or trench, to be an Irish perch, or ten feet and an half, the length therefore when 320 perches make an acre, they measure by the spade length, which is five feet and an half long; twenty of these Irish spades they suppose to contain eighteen stone of potatoes, or what they call two Kerry pecks; and as there are little more than 61 score spades in the bed of 320 perches, that is, in an acre, the whole quantity of potatoes is valued at 1100, or

122 Kerry pecks, which averages at twenty pence the peck, that is 20s. the acre for tithe of potatoes.

In a parish in the county of Cork, I understand, the following demand was made and paid:

Wheat 8s. the English acre—barley the same—meadow 4s. —oats 4s.—potatoes 12s.—proctor's fees 2s. 2d. in the pound, and this not for one year, but a succession. This, when valued by the Irish acre, is for wheat 13s.—barley 13s.—meadow 6s. 6d. —oats 6s. 6d.—potatoes 19s.

This will better appear, by stating to you some of the proctor's bills for a series of years, which I understand will be proved at your bar.

In the year 1782.

For 113 English acres of meadow	-	21	16	0
16 ditto barley	-	5	12	0
8 ditto oats	-	1	12	0
2 ditto potatoes	-	1	4	0
2s. proctorage	-	3	5	0

In the year 1783.

For 92 English acres of meadow	-	18	0	0
18 ditto oats	-	3	0	0
4 ditto potatoes	-	2	8	0
2s. in the pound proctorage	-	2	12	0

Valuation for 1784.

74 acres of meadow	-	14	0	0
9 ditto second crop potatoes	-	4	10	0

For 1785.

8 acres barley second crop	-	2	16	0
1 ditto potatoes second crop	-	0	10	0

For 1786.

3 acres and half potatoes and flax	-	2	2	0
2 ditto barley	-	0	16	0
7 ditto meadow	-	1	1	0
10 cows	-	0	3	4

You will observe that these are all the English acre, and make the acreable ratages about what I have stated, in round numbers.

I have also to produce several affidavits of different people, (peasants I suppose they are) from the county of Cork. The brief of which affidavits I will now state to you—they depose, that a charge was made of ten shillings (English acre I am informed) for wheat, and ten for potatoes, of the worst kind.

That a charge was made of twenty shillings for an acre and half of barley, and that the crop was a bad one.

That a charge was made and exacted, of fifteen shillings for half an English acre of wheat, and half an acre of oats.

They prove that the tithe has encreased of late, in some parts, from 5 to 8 or 10 shillings the English acre for potatoes; from 4 to 8 or 10 shillings for wheat; and for barley, oats, and hay, in a similar proportion.

They prove that the charges in the Ecclesiastical Courts have swelled to ten times the original sum.

They prove that the tithe demanded in 1786, in some instances exceeded the rack-rent of the land; they prove that it is a practice to charge for more acres than the peasant has in tillage—and they produce the charge of the proctor, and the return of the surveyor; they prove that the prices charged in some instances in 1786, exceeded the value of the tithe.

They prove an unchristian and uncharitable exaction. What credit is to be given to these affidavits, you will be the best judge when you go into the committee; but this I think, even on the statement you can decide that these peasants have been oppressed by tithe, and however fondly and partially these men may state their own case, yet it appears that they have a case which you ought to consider, and that there has not been that moderation on the part of parson and proctor, as by the former is so confidently alledged.

I understand in the course of your enquiry it will appear, that a living has been lately and rapidly raised from 60l. to 300l. by the new incumbent; that a farm from 12l. a year tithe, has been raised to 60l.—that a living in these disturbed parts from 130l. has been in the same manner and expedition raised to 340l.—that another living in these disturbed parts, in the same manner, has been raised from 300l. to 1000l.

I understand it will appear to you, that 14l. have been demanded and paid for 11 acres, the rent of which was only 11l. 11s. that flax has been in some of those disturbed parts rated exorbitantly—that rape has been rated at one guinea an acre; nay one return goes so far as to say, 16l. were demanded for four acres of rape. These particulars you will judge of, when you open your committee, how far they may be exaggerations, how far they may be grievances, after every allowance for sanguine statement on the part of the husbandman.

But there are some returns which cannot be exaggerations, and which are exorbitant—they are the returns of the proper officer appointed by the Court of Chancery, to try petitions under the Compensation-act.

From Limerick there are five; one is

Flax, from	10s.	to	0s.	Meadow, from	2s.	3d.	to	3s.
Potatoes,	8	—	10	Sheep,	0	4	—	0
Wheat,	6	—	0	Lambs,	0	3	—	0
Barley,	6	—	0	Cows,	0	2	—	0
Oats,	4	—	5	Receivers fees,	2	2	—	0

Proved to have been constantly paid.

November 5th, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Flax	-	12s.	od.	Oats	-	4s.	od.	} Per A.
Potatoes	-	10	0	Meadow	-	2	10	
Rye	-	6	0					
Cows				4d.	each.			

October 31, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Potatoes	10s.	od.	Oats	-	5s.	od.	} P. A
Wheat	10	0	Meadow	-	3	0	
Cows 3d. each.							

December 19th, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Wheat	-	9s.	od.	Oats	-	4s.	6d.	} Per A.
Potatoes	-	8	0	Meadow	-	2	6	
Barley	-	7	6					
Sheep 4d. ; Cows 2d. each.								

October 18th, 1787—Valuation per report made to the Lord Chancellor.

Potatoes	-	12s.	od.	Barley	-	10s.	od.	} Per Acre.
Flax	-	12	0	Oats	-	6	0	
Rape	-	12	0	Meadow	-	6	0	
Wheat	-	10	0					
Cows 3d.—Sheep and Lambs together, 3d.								

I shall now read you the return from Cork, from the proper Officer appointed to try petitions. The return consists of different acreable ratages. The acre, I am told, in that country, is the English acre: if so the ratages are as follow:

Potatoes.			Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Meadow.		
E. A	Ir. A		E. A	Ir. A		E. A	Ir. A		E. A	Ir. A		E. A	Ir. A	
s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.
5	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	9	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	11	4	6	9	9	—	—	—	2	6	4	—	—	—
8	13	0	7	11	0	—	—	—	3	4	10	2	3	3
9	14	0	8	13	0	5	8	1	4	6	6	3	4	10
10	16	0	10	16	0	6	9	9	5	0	8	4	6	6

I believe there is no man who hears these charges, that will not pronounce some of them exorbitant, unconscionable, and totally different from those which the advocates for tithes have ventured publicly to acknowledge or defend. I believe no man who hears these ratages, that will not say that some of them preclude the idea of any equity in favour of the tiller of the soil, and that the person who makes such a demand means to exact the last penny of his claim, and if he talks of moderation is a hypocrite.

As to potatoes, the clergyman ought not to proceed with reference to the produce, but the price of labour: in the parts of which I have been speaking, the price of labour is not more than

5d. a day the year round ; that is, 6l. 4s. the year ; supposing the labourer to work every day but Sunday, making an allowance for sickness, broken weather, and holidays, you should strike off more than a sixth : he has not in fact then more than 5l. a year by his labour ; his family average above five persons, nearer six, of whom the wife may make something by spinning (in these parts of the country there are considerable manufactories). Five pounds a year, with the wife's small earnings, is the capital to support such a family, and pay rent and hearth-money, and in some cases of illegal exaction, smother-money to the parson.—When a gentleman of the church of Ireland comes to a peasant so circumstanced, and demands 12 or 16s. an acre for tithe of potatoes—he demands a child's provision—he exacts contribution from a pauper—he gleans from wretchedness—he leases from penury—he fattens on hunger, raggedness, and destitution.—In vain shall he state to such a man, the proctor's valuation, and inform him, that an acre of potatoes, well tilled, and in good ground, should produce so many barrels ; that each barrel at the market price is worth so many shillings, which after allowing for digging, tithes at so much.

The peasant may answer this reasoning by the Bible ; he may set up against the tithe-proctor's valuation the New Testament—the precepts of Christ against the clergyman's arithmetic ; the parson's spiritual professions against his temporal exactions, and in the argument, the peasant would have the advantage of the parson. It is an odious contest between poverty and luxury—between the struggles of a pauper and the luxury of a priest.

Such a man, making such a demand, may have many good qualities ; may be a good theologian ; an excellent controversialist ; deeply read in church history ; very accurate in the value of church benefices ; an excellent high priest—but no Christian pastor. He is not the idea of a Christian minister—the White-boy is the least of his foes—his great enemy is the precept of the gospel and the example of the apostles.

With respect to the rudiments of manufacture, you ought not to proceed according either to the produce or to the price of labour—you should observe an equity in favour of the manufacturer. When 12s. an acre are demanded for flax, the tithe is fatal to the progress of the linen trade in the South—and the great word increase and multiply meets obstruction in this instance, from some of the ministers of the gospel, or those employed by them, preventing the growth of manufacture and population, by the excess of demand and the love of riches. England established a modus for flax, a modus of 5s. an acre, and yet the linen manufacture is not the staple of England, but was given up by England to be the staple of Ireland. The parliament of England establishes there a modus of 5s. an acre for your staple, and some of your clergy here demand for it 12s. an acre.

Under the head of excess the following allegation is submitted to your consideration; that in certain parishes of the South the charge for tithe has been unconscionable, and has not observed any equity in favour of the husbandman, the poor, or the manufacturer.

But the law would relieve; turn to the Ecclesiastical Courts—the judge is a clergyman, or appointed by a clergyman, and of course is a party judge; and though in some cases his personal rectitude may correct his situation, and prevent him from being a partial, yet from the constitution of his court, he is a party judge.—The Ecclesiastical Courts in England maintained gravel and stone to be titheable, as some of ours have maintained turf to be titheable. Lord Holt said, they made every thing titheable; but, says he, I do not regard that, the Pope, from whom our clergy derive their claim, though they depart from its alledged application, subjected to tithe the gains of the merchant, and the pay of the army—the canons went farther, and held the tithe of fornication and adultery to be the undoubted property of the church. We are now too enlightened to listen to claims carried to so very great an extent, and Ecclesiastical Courts are less extravagant now; but still, the principle continues, the bias continues—still they are party courts; the evidence, like the judge, is a party—he is worse, he is frequently the servant of the party, and the nature of his evidence is the best calculated to give every latitude to partiality and corruption—he generally views the crop, when the crop is ripe, or when the ground is red; in the first case he cannot, with any great accuracy, ascertain the quantum of produce, and in the last case, he cannot, with any accuracy at all; and yet, without survey, without measure, and in some cases, without inspection of the crop, hear him swearing before a party judge, to the quantum of ground and produce.

I have selected some cases from the Vicar's Court of Cashel.—I will read them, and on some of them will make such observations as occur to me. I will begin with the year 1766, to prove the present mode and measure to be encroachment.

1766.

Seymour against Burke.—Subtracted two-thirds of two acres of bere, two acres of oats, five acres of oats and one acre and an half of potatoes, and three acres of meadowing, parish of Ballybrood, and county of Limerick, valued at 11. 12s. it was proved that all the tithes of the said parish belonged to promovent, and that two thirds of the tithes were subtracted by the impugnant.

Hanley against Ryan and others.—Seven lambs and forty-two sheep, 8s. 2d.—one acre of oats and potatoes, 3s.—half an acre of oats 1s. 6d.—seven acres of meadow at 1s. 6d. per acre 10s. 6d.

1767.—They had two acres of potatoes, 10s.—two acres of new potatoes, 12s.—three roods of oats, 2s. 3d.—six acres of

meadow, at 1s. 6d. an acre—forty-one sheep; and twelve lambs, at 2d. a piece, 8s. 10d.

1768.—They had four acres of potatoes, 1l.—half an acre of new potatoes, 3s.—six acres of meadow, 9s.

September 1, 1769—Knockgraffon.

The reverend *Nicholas Herbert* against *Parker*.—Eight acres of wheat, at 5s. an acre.

Massey against *Smithwick*.—Oats one acre and an half, 6s.—on the lands of Ballynagrana, in the parish of Emly.

Morgan against *Fitzpatrick*.—Ballydarrid, diocese of Cashel. One acre and an half of bere, 7s. 6d.—two acres of meadow at 2s. 6d. each, 5s.—three acres of oats at 2s. 6d. each, 7s. 6d.

February 16, 1771.

Doctor Jervais against the *Morrissey's*.—Half an acre of potatoes, 4s.—one acre and an half of wheat, 12s.—six acres of meadow, 18s.—two acres of oats, 8s.—one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 8s.—one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 6s.—one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 8s.—half an acre of potatoes and oats, 3s.—half an acre of wheat, 4s.—half an acre of potatoes, 4s.—one acre of oats and potatoes, 6s.

Cooper against *Gliffan*.—One acre of oats, 3s. 6d.—one acre of bere, 5s.—two acres of wheat, 10s.—two acres of rape, 14s.

February 8, 1772.

Lloyd against *Hourigan*.—Subtracted in 1770, an orchard on the lands of Grange, in the parish of Cahirconlish, two-thirds of the tithes, 1l. 6s. 8d. and on the lands of Knockeen, another orchard, two-thirds of the tithes of which, 16s. 8d.

Hanley against *Sadlier*.—Thirty acres of meadow, at 1s. 1d. an acre—twelve acres of meadow, at 1s. 6d. an acre—Decreed, with 6s. 8d. cost.—Note, the lands in the Union of Toom.

January 23, 1773.

Blake against *Bryan*.—Brittas in the parish of Thurles, impugnant, in 1771 subtracted two one-half acres potatoes, at 7s. 6d.—one acre of barley at 5s.—eighteen acres of meadow at 3s.—And in 1772 he subtracted seven one-half acres at 8s.—four one-half acre of bere at 7s.—four one-half acres of barley at 5s.—eight acres of oats at 5s.—twelve acres of meadow at 3s.

January 8, 1774.

Moore against *several persons*.—Barley 6d. 6d. an acre—wheat 7s.—meadow, 2s. 6d.—potatoes, 8s.—in the parish of Emly.

Riall against *several persons*.—Five one-half acres of potatoes, 1l. 13s.—two acres of oats, 8s.—one one-half acre of meadow, 6s.—one acre of rape, 8s.—Killenaule, decreed with 6d. cost in each.

Cooper against *Gliffan*.—Bere, 5s. an acre—oats, 4s. an acre,

oats, 3s. 6d. an acre—wheat, 5s.—Deanesgrove, in the parish of the Rocks.

Herbert against *M^r Encraw*.—Wheat, 8s. an acre—oats, 3s. 6d. bere and flax, 6s.—potatoes, 8s.—Knockgrassion parish.

February 2, 1775.

Lockwood against *Mockler*.—Barley, 5s. an acre—oats, 3s. 6d. bere, one one-fourth acre, 6s. 3d.—Ardmayle parish.

Lockwood against *Meagher*.—Bere, 5s. an acre—oats, 3s. 6d. wheat, 6s.—Ardmayle parish.

January 20, 1778.

Cooper against *Cunningham*.—Thurlesbegg, the parish of the Rocks, oats, 3s. 6d. an acre—barley, 5s.—rape, 8s.

1780.

Riall against *Freeby*.—Ballingarry parish, wheat, 5s. an acre—potatoes, 2s.—oats, 10d.—subtracted in 1777.

Tierney against *Cleary* and others.—Parish of Tennor, potatoes, 6s. an acre—wheat, 7s.—bere, 6s.—oats, 4s.

Shaw against *Carroll*.—Ballysheehan parish, two-thirds of the tythes; two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, growing on four one-half acres at 3s. 6d. a barrel, 3l. 1s. 3d.—forty-two barrels of wheat, on seven acres, 2l. 15s.—sixty-four barrels of bere on four acres, 1l. 10s. 3d.—in all 7l. 6s. 6d. with 1l. cost.

Hare against *same*.—Two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, one third of the tithes thereof, 1l. 9s. 8½d.—forty-two barrels, one third of the tithes thereof 1l. 8s. 2d.—sixty-four barrels of bere, one-third of the tithes thereof 13s. 7½d.—Decree, with 1l. cost.

Same against *Mary Strang*.—Two thousand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one half of the tithe of which, 22l. 1s. 5d.—bere one hundred and twenty-eight barrels, one half of the tithe of which, 2l. 6s. 4d.—oats, one hundred and forty-three barrels, one half of the tithe of which, 2l. 3s. 8d.—flax, one half of the tithe of which, 5s.—hay, one hundred and twenty-five tons, one half of the tithe of which, 6l. 5s.—in all 33l. 1s. 4d.—The archbishop took time to consider,

July 16, 1780.

Same against *Mary Strang*.—Nave for the impugnant prayed to be let into the merits, but his grace over-ruled him.—Nave then tendered 10l. 4s. 9d. as a compensation, which the promonent refused.—Griffith prayed sentence, which was decreed by his grace for 33l. 1s. 4d. with 1l. 6s. 8d. costs.

August 12, 1782.

Massey against *Murnane*.—Meadow, five acres, 1l. and 1l. 6s. 8d. cost.

October 7, 1782.

Shaw against *Mahony*.—Ordered that Gilbert Meara, the proctor of Cæsar Sutton, be enjoined from collecting or demanding

tithe from any of the parishioners of Ballysheehan, which are claimed by said Sutton

Hare against Strang—Decree that the appeal is deserted in pain, and that a monition shall issue for 33l. 1s. 4d. pursuant to the rule of the 16th July, 1781.

March 10, 1783.

Lloyd against Hoops—60 acres of meadow, producing 240 tons, value 16l.—10 acres, 40 tons, 2l. 13s. 4d.—6048 stone of potatoes, at 1d. per stone—the tithe in all 2l. 10s. 4d and 1l. 6s. 8d. cost.

Ryan against Madden—Decree for 4s. 6d. for the tithe of 2 acres of meadow, and 1l. 6s. 8d. cost.

Moore against Pat. Moroney—1 acre potatoes, producing 60 barrels, at 9s. 9d. per barrel, that is 2l. 18s. 6d. per acre—4 acres of meadow, at two one-half tons per acre at 1l. a ton.

June, 1785.

Ryan against Greene—4 acres and three-fourths, potatoes at 64 barrels containing 4256 stone, the tithe 425 stone at 4d. per stone, amount to 5l. 6s. 3s.—flax 2 acres and 1-half, 160 stone, the tithe, 16 stone at 4s. 3l. 4s. 0d.—oats, 4 acres and 1-quarter, containing 232 stone, the tithe 43 stone at 6d. per stone 1l. 1s. 6d.—meadow, ten acres, 30 tons, the tithe 3 tons, at 2 guineas per acre, 6l. 6s. 6d. in all 16l. 8s. 3s.

Parish of Ballingarry, June 26, 1784.

Preslon against Clifford—In 1783, 420 stone of potatoes, tithe at 3d. per stone, amount to 10s. 6d.—oats 48 stone, tithe at 9d. per stone, 3s. 4½.—barley, 196 stone, tithe at 8d. per stone, 13s.—hay, 10 tons, tithe whereof 1 ton, 2l. 3s. 4d. Decree, and 1l. 6s. 8d. cost.

July 26, 1784.

Walsh against Fanning—Parish Kilcooly, in 1783, had two-one-half ton, at 20s. per, the tithe 5 cwt. value 5s.—potatoes, 100 barrels at 3s. per, the tithe 1l. 10s.—oats 5 barrels, tithe half barrel, value 3s. 6d. in all 1l. 18s. 6d. Decree, and 1l. 6s. 8d. cost.

It appears from one of these decrees, that in the year 1780, a demand is brought for two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, as two-thirds of the tithe of the parish of Ballysheehan. By what learned process the proctor or evidence can prove this precise value, or whether he has measured the crop, I cannot say, but I most strongly suspect the contrary; and then his valuation is a false and arbitrary accuracy, and his sub-division of the crop is a trick to encrease the charge. The minuteness of charge is the multiplication of oppression. Do not imagine that the proprietor of tithe cannot proceed otherwise than by this species of minute valuation, for I have read you the report of suits brought in a different manner, to which I beg you may advert. This method appears from the report, an innovation; it is tithing by mouthfuls.

It appears from this decree, that these two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, were the produce of four acres and an half; the charge appears to be 4l. 3s. 9d. that is near 1l. the acre for potatoes; the case goes on and charges for forty-two barrels of wheat, (not measured, I apprehend) 4l. 4s. 6d. value 20s. the barrel, and as this appears to arise from seven acres, the charge is 12s. the acre; to this is added, 20s. cost.

The case that follows this is, a demand brought for one-third of the tithe, and proceeds exactly on the same principles of crafty minuteness, false accuracy, and real oppression.

In these cases you will recollect, that there should ever be made a difference between the field price and market price: the field-price is what the crop is worth at the time, and in the state in which the parson's right accrues; and the market price is that to which the parson has no right. These distinctions do not seem always to have been religiously adhered to by these clerical judges.

The next case I shall observe on is, a demand brought for two thousand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one hundred and twenty-eight barrels of bere, and one hundred and forty-eight barrels of oats. On what evidence? Who was the laborious indefatigable man who went through the long process of measuring and weighing this ponderous and bulky produce? This is the case of Mrs. Strang, and the result of this charge is, a decree for 33l. 14s. and 1l. 6s. 8d. cost.—There is no necessity for knowledge of fact to support such a demand; the evidence does it by his power of guessing, by his craft, his sagacity; which, it seems, before such a tribunal, is satisfactory. You think this measure by the barrel a criminal ingenuity; but they carry it much farther, they swear to the stone. I have read you a suit brought for six thousand and forty-eight stone of potatoes; but there is a case which sums up all the principles which I have stated and objected to; it is the case of Ryan against Greene. In this four acres and a quarter of potatoes are alledged to have contained four thousand two hundred and sixty-six stone, and are tithed at 5l. 6s. 3d. which is above one guinea an acre for potatoes; two acres and a half of flax are alledged to contain one hundred and sixty stone, and are charged above 3l. 4s. above a guinea an acre for flax; four acres and a quarter of oats, alledged to contain four hundred and thirty-two stone, are charged 1l. 1s. 6d. about 5s. the acre; ten acres of meadow, alledged to contain thirty ton, are charged at 6l. 6s. 6d. that is above 12s. the acre meadow; the decree went for the sum charged, 16l. 8s. 3d. and the cost 1l. 6s. 8d. An observation which aggravates even this case, will occur, when I tell you this charge was made in a year of famine—the famine of 1783, when an embargo was laid on your exports, and the people nourished by contribution. There is another aggravation even to this; they charge a famine price, and calculate a plenty produce, and avail themselves of both.

There is another case of scarcity, where a suit is brought for four hundred and thirty stone of potatoes, valued at 3d. per stone, a price of scarcity; for forty-eight stone of oats, a price of scarcity; and for ten tons of hay, valued at 2l. 3s. 4d. the ton, a price of scarcity, decreed with 1l. 6s. 8d. costs. Another case of scarcity—where a demand is made for six hundred and thirty stone of potatoes, valued at 3d. per stone, a price of scarcity; ninety-six stone of oats, valued at 9d. per stone, a price of scarcity; eleven tons of hay, at 2l. 3s. 9d. the ton—total tithe, 3l. 16s. decreed with 1l. 6s. 8d. costs; and these seem to be the case of poor peasants, who have but six hundred or four hundred stone of potatoes, valued at 3d. a stone, in a hard year, in the famine of 1783, decreed with the aggravation of the highest costs the law would allow.

But there is a case of a most extraordinary appearance—a case which rises on famine. I do not see that any decree was made upon it; one acre of potatoes is alledged to contain sixty barrels of potatoes, and each barrel is valued at 9s. 9d.—that is 2l. 18s. 6d. tithe for the acre of potatoes.

With regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who in rating his parishioners, takes advantage of a famine, and brings up as it were the rere of divine vengeance, and becomes in his own person, the last great scourge of the husbandman—with regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who not only takes the advantage of famine, but joins a famine price to a plenty produce, and by one and the same act punishes human industry, and aggravates physical misfortune—as to the legality of such a conduct, I shall say nothing—it may be perfectly consistent with his temporal claims, but blasts his spiritual pretensions—for ever.

After these oppressions, the most grievous kind of oppressions—oppressions by judgment of law, you would hardly listen to the minor grievance where the decree shall be for 1l. and the costs 1l. 6s. 8d.—where the decree shall be for 4s. and costs 1l. 6s. 8d. There are several of this kind—but this would seem the mercy of the court admonishing the peasantry never to appear again before such a tribunal.

From these instances I may infer, that the peasantry must look for redress to Parliament, and will not find it in the Spiritual Courts, which, from their distance, from the uncertainty of their session, from their constitution, and from their judgments, must rather give the tithe-farmer a confidence in extortion, than the husbandman a confidence in the law. From these instances, I think I have proved, that there has existed such a thing as excess of demand—excess of demand without remedy; and this excess would be better understood, if you compare the ratages of the South with those of other parts of the kingdom.

Here Mr. Grattan observed, that two material differences existed: first, that potatoes were tithed no where but in the

South; secondly, that the other articles of tillage were tithed no where so high as in the South; that there were some few parishes, 'tis true, in the North, and some parts of counties that bordered on Munster, where potatoes were tithed; but that the instances were few, and the exception proved the rule.

That the other articles of tillage were not tithed so high in other places, after making every allowance for difference of soil.

Here Mr. Grattan stated the ratages which were usual in the other provinces, and which were much less than those exacted in the South, which, he said, appeared to be the region of poverty, exaction, and tumult, and that the tumult seemed commensurate with the exaction, which, he said, fell particularly heavy on those who were the least able to pay. He shewed, that in the other provinces, that not only the tithe on tillage was less, but that there were certain modusses in some of their counties for articles which, in the South, was heavily tithed—Thus, in the North, there was a modus for flax six-pence, be the quantity ever so great. That, in part of Connaught there was a modus for hay, six-pence per farm, be the quantity ever so great. That, considering the exemption of potatoes, these modusses, and the ratages on tillage in the other parts of the kingdom, two observations must arise, 1st, either that the clergy were greatly cheated in the three parts of Ireland, or that the people were greatly oppressed in the South; 2dly, that you must raise the ratages of the clergy in Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster, or you must now check them in Munster. Are you prepared for the former of those events? Are you prepared in Connaught and Ulster to pay 12s. or 14s. for potatoes and 12s. the acre for flax? Are you prepared in Ulster for the Compensation-bill, and the Magistracy-bill, which must accompany and enforce such efforts to introduce among you those exactions which oppress Munster? It is true, the North is teized in some counties, by small-dues, which it is a part of my scheme to put an end to, and make a compensation to the clergy.

The ratages of the South will be still better understood by comparing them with her own ratages at a former period—that from every information he could collect, they had greatly encreased. This will be a very proper subject for your committee.

That he had affidavits to produce stating the encrease, which was rapid and exorbitant, bearing no proportion whatsoever to the general increase in the value of things. That these affidavits seemed warranted by current testimony of public opinion, and particularly by extracts from the decrees of the Vicar's Court, where it appeared, not from one decree, but a course of decrees, that the acreable ratages of late had greatly encreased.

Here he read some of the decrees before referred to.—That it had been said, that in the diocese of Cork and Ross, the ratages had not encreased these last thirty years. That he was willing to

rest the case on that principle, and if the ratages in the South had not within those last thirty years greatly encreased, he was willing to give up the question; and he desired a committee to investigate and determine that important point. That this encroachment, on which he insisted, was the more inexcusable, when we considered the great encrease of tillage in the South, which of itself would have encreased the incomes of the clergy, even though they had diminished their ratages; the causes of the encrease of tillage make the encrease of ratage improper as well as unnecessary; because they are in some degree artificial; the bounty on corn is an artificial cause. That bounty should not be tithed. The effect of that bounty has not been prevented; but the full operation of it has been checked by excessive tithe, and has been interrupted by tumult, the companion of these excessive demands, so that the excess of tithe re-acts on the premium, and makes it doubtful whether the plough shall advance under the bounty, or go back under the tithe.

Another artificial cause of the growth of your tillage in the South, is your want of manufacture: a poor and rapid population, that cannot be employed in manufacture must be employed in husbandry; but then it is miserable and experimental husbandry; what Mr. Young calls an execrable tillage on bog or mountain, which by the laws of England would be for seven years exempt from tithes, and which by the laws of Ireland ought to be so. You have two acts, one exempting newly reclaimed ground from tithe of flax or hemp for seven years; and another exempting reclaimed bog, provided ten acres shall be reclaimed, from tithe generally for seven years; but why not as in England, exempt all newly reclaimed ground from all manner of tithe for seven years?

Here Mr. Grattan mentioned, that he learned, in some of the Western parts of the county of Cork, they rated the mountaineers higher than in many parts of the richest low land: charging them by the spade length a sum, which, when applied to the acre, was equal to 20 or 30s. the plantation acre — These parts and their inhabitants, he understood, were entirely consigned to the dominion of the tithe-proctor or tithe-farmer, and were equally savage, and oppressed, and turbulent.

This encroachment, this disproportion, and this excess, which I have already particularized, are the more to be lamented, because the law does not administer the remedy. The Ecclesiastical Courts I have proved to afford no redress whatever; I have shewn that their judgments are not founded in moderation, and are not always founded in law.

The right of setting out the tithe has not always proved, in the case of the poor, a security against illegal demands, and does not affect to be a security against unconscionable demands.

By the law, the tenant must give forty-eight hours notice, and bind himself to a day, whether fair or foul. In the case of potatoes, he must, if the parson does not choose to attend, leave the

ridge in the field, which may prevent his sowing winter corn, and be the difference between the profit on wheat and on oats. The tenant cannot dig his potatoes till October, he seldom does till November; and he must use them in August, because the stock of last year is exhausted. Now, the digging a bowl of potatoes is by construction in the Ecclesiastical Courts, the subtraction, not of the particular tithe, but of the tithes of the year: for simplicity of suit they construe subtraction of one prædial tithe to be subtraction of the whole; and for extent of power, that is, for the sake of bringing the whole under their jurisdiction, they construe potatoes to be prædial tithe. Thus the necessity of the year brings the peasant under the lash of ecclesiastical authority, that great scourge of the farmer.

In the last year, the peasantry very generally set out their tithe, and the clergy in several instances refused to draw; they did so in several instances where there was no illegal combination, unless a combination among themselves, to deprive the peasant of a right to set out his tithes, and get an *ex post facto* law to collect their tithe in a new, summary and oppressive mode. Sir, it will be proved, that the countryman has waited day after day until the parson should draw his tithe. It will be proved, that he has left his crop in the field until it has become green. It will be proved, that he has offered to the parson or proctor to hire them horses to draw their tithe; it will be proved that he has offered to draw it home at his own expence.

Here Mr. Grattan read a notice from a landholder to a clergyman, informing him, that he should draw on such a day, and offering to lend the parson horses and cars, to draw his tithe wherever he should appoint; and he observed that the parson had refused. He also observed, that an offer had been made to a clergyman by a gentleman, to draw, keep and preserve the tithe in the gentleman's haggard, if the clergyman did not choose to keep it in his own; which offer, Mr. Grattan stated, to have been refused; the clergyman choosing to recover by a compensation, or an *ex post facto* law, which went to deprive the countryman of his common right, without any proof of his guilt.

That if such a bill was permitted it would take from the countryman, in some of the cases mentioned above, not the tenth, but the fifth; for the tenant had lost by weather the tithe severed and set out, and was likely to pay another tithe by act of Parliament. That this would be, not compensation, but robbery, and the worst species of robbery, robbery by authority of Parliament; it would be to take the most decided and unconstitutional part, in a case where this House affected to take no part at all; and where it declined every kind of information whatsoever, to enable it to take any part with dignity, justice, or effect; and that by such a step we should put the Irish farmer with respect to his tithe, on ground very different from that of the English farmer—and much more disadvantageous.

That the law in England does not require forty-eight hours. That where the tithe is left too long on the ground, the law of England gave the owner of the land an action on the case against the parson for his negligence.—You give the parson a compensation for his negligence.

If tithes set out remain too long on the ground, the law of England gives the owner of the land a right to take those tithes as damage *faisant*; if sued for them, he is to set forth how long they remained on the premises, and the jury (whom your bill excludes and thus indirectly stigmatizes) is to decide. By the law of England the care of the tithe, after severance, rests with the parson. In England, where the tithe of corn was set out, and the parson would not take it, but prayed a remedy in the Ecclesiastical Court, a prohibition against the parson was granted.

See how much more care the law of England takes of the husbandman; how much more attention it affords him than the law or the Parliament of Ireland; and it is one of the charges and allegations of the husbandman of the South.

“That in certain parishes, the parishioners have duly, and legally, set out their tithes, have given due notice, and have taken all the legal steps; but that no person has attended on the part of the clergyman, under the expectation, they conceive, of getting some new method of recovery, hitherto unknown to the law, and tending to deprive, by a past operation, the parish, of the benefit of its ancient right and privilege of setting out the tithe.”

This oppression connects itself with another part of this subject, a very obnoxious, a very oppressive, and a very notorious part of it, the tithe-farmer. The farming of any revenue is a pernicious idea. It is the practice of absolute kings, who, anxious about their riches, and careless about their people, get a fixed income from some desperate adventurer, and then let loose on the community, this animal of prey, at once destitute of remorse, and armed with authority.

In free countries such a practice is not permitted. You would not allow it to the king, and you ought not to allow it to the church—It is an evil in politics, but a scandal in religion; and the more dangerous in the latter, because tithe being indefinite, the latitude of extortion is indefinite. The use of the tithe-farmer is to get from the parishioner, what the parson would be ashamed to demand, and to enable the clergyman to absent himself from his duty—the powers of the tithe-farmer are summary laws and Ecclesiastical Courts—his livelihood is extortion—his rank in society is generally the lowest, and his occupation is to pounce on the poor in the name of the Lord. He is a species of wolf, left by the shepherd to take care of the flock in his absence—he fleeces both, and begins with the parson.

Here Mr. Grattan stated that the tithe-farmer seldom got less than one-fourth of the money-collected; but sometimes one-third. That there were instances where he got even more, and

had reduced the parson to the state of a poor pensioner, on his own living.—That he had heard, that in one of the disturbed parishes, the parish had wished to come to a good understanding with the clergyman, and to pay him in person, but that the tithe-farmer had obstructed such an accommodation, and had by his mercenary intervention prevented concord, moderation and composition—parishes were not only subject to one tithe-farmer, but, in some cases, were cursed with a legion of them. A non-resident clergyman shall employ a tithe-farmer, who shall set the tithe over again, to two blacksmiths, who go among the flock like two vultures. A tithe-farmer shall, on being questioned, give the following account of himself: That he held the tithe from one, who had them from an officer, who held them from a clergyman who did not reside in a parish where there were resident no dean, no rector, no vicar, no school-master; where the whole business of Christianity, on the Protestant side, was transacted by a curate at 50*l.* a year; and as the parish has been disturbed by the tithe-farmer or proctor, so has it in some cases been quieted in getting rid of him. I have known a case where the parish made, with their clergyman, the following agreement:—Sir, we pay your proctor 80*l.* a year, and he gives you 600*l.*—We will give you 600*l.* and become your collectors and your security. In another living, the parish paid the proctor 450*l.* a year, and the proctor paid the parson 300*l.* The parishioners became the collector and the security, paid the clergyman 300*l.* a year, took for their trouble 30*l.* and eased the parish of 120*l.* the consequence was peace; and the more you investigate this subject, the more you will find that the disturbance of the people, and the exactions of the church, have been commensurate—and that the peace of the former has attended the moderation of the latter; nor is it only the excess of exaction which makes the tithe-farmer a public misfortune—his mode of collection is another scourge: He puts his charges into one or more notes, payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons, charging him 6*d.* for the service, and 1*s.* for the summons; he then sometimes puts the whole into a Kerry-bond or instrument, which bears interest—he then either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution, and gets the countryman's body and goods completely into his power: to such an abuse is this abominable practice carried, that in some of the southern parts of Ireland, the peasantry are made tributary to the tithe-farmer; draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf—for nothing; give him their labour, their cars, and their horses, at certain times of the year—for nothing. These oppressions not only exist, but have acquired a formed and distinct appellation—tributes; tributes to extortioners; tributes paid by the poor in the name of the Lord. To oppression we are to add intoxication, the drunkenness and idleness which not seldom attend the method in which the tithe-farmer settles his accounts with the poor parishioners devoted to his care; the place in which he generally settles

these accounts, makes his bargains, and transacts his business—is the alehouse: He sometimes, I am told, keeps one himself, or he has a relation who gets a license to sell ale and spirits—because his friend is employed by the church, and will bring him custom.

Do you, gentlemen, sign your leases in the alehouse? what should you think of a steward who made your tenants drunk, when he should collect your rents? and what should a clergyman think of his tithe-farmer, who made his flock drunk, when he collected or settled his tithes, and bathed in whiskey this precious offering, this primæval property, held by some to be, the very essence of religion, and not only most ancient, but divine?

To this loss of industry you are to add, the loss of revenue—(where, as in some cases I am told) the revenue-officer is the tithe-farmer, and in that most suspicious and deadly combination of fraudulent capacities, overcharges in tithe, and undercharges in tax; that is, compensates to the countryman, by robbing the King, and adds to the crime of exaction the offence of spoliation, and profits by both. I appeal to the Commissioners of the Revenue, whether they have not good reason to suspect such practices? and I appeal to some of a Right Rev. Bench, whether this is the only commutation which in their opinion is practicable or proper? Under this head it is alledged, that in certain parishes in the South, tithe-farmers have oppressed, and do oppress his Majesty's subjects, by various ways of extortion, by assuming to themselves arbitrarily and cruelly, powers which the law does not give, and by making an oppressive use of those powers which the law has put into their hands. And this the parishioners are ready to verify on oath.

To these evils are we to add another, which is the principal source of them all—the uncertainty of tithe—the full tenth ever must be oppressive.

A tenth of your land, your labour, and your capital, to those who contribute in no shape whatsoever to the produce, must be oppression; they only think otherwise, who suppose, that every thing is little which is given to the parson—that no burden can be heavy, if it is the weight of the parson; that landlords should give up their rent, and tenants the profits of their labour, and all too little; but uncertainty aggravates that oppression, the full tenths ever must be uncertain as well as oppressive, for it is the fixed proportion of a fluctuating quantity, and unless the high priest can give law to the winds, and ascertain the harvest, the tithe, like that harvest, must be uncertain; but this uncertainty is aggravated by the pernicious motives on which tithe frequently rises and falls. It frequently rises on the poor—it falls in compliment to the rich. It proceeds on principles the reverse of the gospel; it crouches to the strong, and it encroaches on the feeble; and is guided by the two worst principles in society, servility and avarice united, against the cause of charity, and under the cloak of religion.

Here let me return to, and repeat the allegations, and call on you once more to make the enquiry. It is alledged that in certain parishes of the South, tithe has been demanded, and paid, for what, by law, was not liable to tithe; and that the Ecclesiastical Courts have countenanced the illegal exaction; and evidence is offered at your bar to prove the charge on oath.

Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alledged, that tithe-proctors in certain parishes of the South do exact fees for agency oppressive and illegal; and evidence to prove the charge is offered on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alledged, that in certain parishes of the South, tithes have been excessive, and have observed no equity for the poor, the husbandman, or the manufacturer; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath!

Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alledged, that in certain parishes of the South, ratages for tithes have greatly and unconscionably increased; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alledged, that in certain parishes of the South, the parishioners have duly and legally set out their tithe, and given due notice; but that no persons have attended on the part of proctor or parson, under expectation, it is apprehended, of getting some new method of recovery, tending to deprive the parish of the benefit of its ancient right, that of setting out their tithe; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath.

It is alledged, in certain parishes in the South, tithe-farmers have oppressed and do oppress his Majesty's subjects, by various extortions, abuses of law, or breaches of the same; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Here, once more I ask you, will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

This being the state of the church in certain parishes in the South, I wish to know, what in the mean time within those districts becomes of religion? Here are the parson and parish at variance, about that which our religion teaches us to despise—Riches.—Here is the Mammon of Unrighteousness set up to interrupt our devotion to the true God. The disinterested, the humble, the apostolical character during this unseemly contest, what becomes of it? Here are two powers—the power in the tenant to set out his tithe, the power in the church to try the matter in dispute by ecclesiastical jurisdiction—two powers vested by the law in the respective hands of church and laity, without any effect but to torment one another—the power of setting of tithe does not affect to defend the tenant against unconscionable de-

mand ; and if attended with combination secures him against any effectual demand whatsoever. The power of trying the matter in dispute by ecclesiastical jurisdiction, does not take place except in case of subtraction, and when it does take place is a partial trial. Thus, as the law now stands, combination is the defence of laity, and partiality of the church.

The equity in favour of the tiller of the soil (a very necessary equity indeed) becomes a new source of disturbance, because the parties are not agreed, what that equity should be—the countryman, not conceiving that any one can in equity, have a right to the tenth of his land, labour, and capital, who does not own the land, nor plow, nor sow, nor reap, nor contribute in any degree whatsoever to the produce. The tithe-farmer having no idea, but that of iniquity, on the subject—The parson perhaps conceiving, that a tenth on tillage is a bare compensation in equity, for what he deems the greatest of all iniquity, your vote of agistment.—Thus, the two parties, the parson and his parish, the shepherd and his flock, with opposite opinions, and mutual powers of annoyance in the parts I have alluded to, seem to go on in a rooted animosity and silent war.

Conceive the pastor looking over the hedge like a spy, to mulct the extraordinary labours of the husbandman.

Conceive him coming into the field, and saying “you are a deserving husbandman—you have encreased the value of your field by the sweat of your brow ; Sir, I’ll make you pay me for that,”—or conceive a dialogue between a shepherd and one of his flock ; “I will take your tenth sheaf ; and if you chuse to vex me, your tenth hen, and your tenth egg, and your tenth goose,” (not to the apostles)—or conceive him speaking to his flock by parable, and saying, “the ass stopped with his burden ; and his burden was doubled, and still he stopped, and his burden was still encreased—and then the perverse animal finding his resistance in vain, went on ; so even you shall find resistance, but encrease your load, until the number of acts of Parliament shall break your back.”

These pastoral discourses, if they have taken place, however well intended, will not, I fear, greatly advance the cause of the faithful, particularly in a country where the numbers remain to be converted to the Protestant religion, not only by the superior purity of its doctrine, but by the mild disinterested peace-making spirit of its teachers.

Will not the dignitaries of the church interpose on such an occasion ? how painful must it have been to them, the teachers of the gospel, and therefore enemies to the shedding of blood, to have thought themselves under the repeated necessity of applying to Parliament for sanguinary laws—the most sanguinary laws on your statute books are tithe-bills—the Whiteboy-act is a tithe-bill—the Riot-act a tithe-bill.

How painful to those dignitaries must it be to feel themselves in the office of making perpetual complaints against their own flock, and to be conscious, in some instances, of having jaded and disgusted the ears of the court, by charges against the peasantry? How painful to them to have repeated recourse to the military in their own case, and to think that many of their sinful flock, but their flock notwithstanding, were saved from the indiscriminating edge of the sword by ecclesiastical zeal, tempered and withheld, and in some cases disappointed by the judicious mercy of military command?

We, the laity, were right in taking the strongest measures the last session: it was our duty to assert; but of these churchmen, it is the duty, and I suppose the nature, to deprecate, to incline to the mild, the meek, the dispassionate, and the merciful side of the question, and rather to prevent by moderation than punish by death.

Whether these exactions were in themselves sufficient to have produced all the confusion of the last year, I know not, but this I do believe, that no other cause had been sufficient without the aid of exaction; if exaction had not existed, the South would not, I believe, have been convulsed. A controverted election alone could not well have been an adequate cause; the objects of attack must, in some cases, have been something more than partizans, and the flame spread by contagion—the first torch must have been an accident—but the people were rendered combustible by oppression.

The whiteboy should be hanged; but I think the tithe-farmer should be restrained; I would inflict death on the felon, and impose moderation on the extortioner; and thus relieve the community from the offences of both.

But do not let us so far mistake the case, as to suppose it a question between the parson and the whiteboy; or that the animosity which has been excited is confined to felons; no; it is extended far more generally; it is extended to those who have been active in bringing those felons to justice; and men will appear at your bar who have suffered under excess of demand, and have acted to restore peace, the instrument of quiet, and the objects of exaction: let us therefore examine the subject, and having already with great propriety taken the most decisive steps against the insurgent, let us enquire now into the cause of the outrage, and see whether exaction might not have had some share, at least, in the origin of it; and if so, let us strive to form some plan which may collect the riches of the church, without repetition of penal laws or of public disturbance.

In forming a plan for the better provision of the church, the first thing to be considered is the quantum of provision; the second consideration is the fund from whence that provision is to arise—the quantum of provision should be the usual net income

on an average of years, except in some parishes of great exaction ; I say usual, because I would not materially alter their allowance ; I say on an average of years, because I would not make recent incroachment property ; I say net, because when the public shall become the tithe proprietor's agent, the public will have a right to the benefit of the agency.

That their income is discoverable I affirm, and I affirm it under the authority of their own act, and their own practice ; without going farther back than the last session, you will find the Compensation-act requires the person suing on the act to make a discovery of his customary income, and in some cases discovery of his ratages for three years back on oath—it requires that he should, in his affidavit, set forth that the valuation of 1786, is made as near as possible, the ratage of the three former years ; it requires that where a valuation of the tithe of 1786 could not be made, a valuation of the customary tithe for three years back should ; it enables the court to appoint persons to enquire into the fact, and call for parties and papers, and thus establishes two principles, which were denied ;—that the annual income of benefices is discoverable, and that the particular ratage is discoverable also :—I might go back to the act of Henry VIII. which requires that a commission should be directed to enquire into ecclesiastical benefices, and report the value of the same ; and I might further adduce the act of William III. which gives to the ecclesiastical person who builds, two-thirds of the sum expended, which sum is to be ascertained by a certificate ; which certificate, by the 12th of George II. shall contain an account of the clear yearly income of the benefice. After these instances, I hope no man will deny that the income of the clergyman is discoverable ; particularly, when the Compensation-act of the last winter requires such a discovery to be made on the oath of the parson. That act was supported by the whole bench of bishops ; it was probably framed with their advice and suggestions. They would not require their clergy to report on their oath what they themselves conceived, or had maintained to be impossible ; as if it was impossible to make a discovery for the purpose of commutation—but for the purpose of compensation, easy and obvious. Thus, when I affirm the discoverability of the clergyman's income, I have not only the authority of the church, but its oath. The net return should be the parson's perpetual income, subject to the exception stated above ; but in order to guard him against the fluctuation of currency, I would fix the value of that income in grain ; it should be the value of so many barrels of wheat, to be estimated every seven years by the corn-office, or the clerk of the market, who now quarterly strikes the average value of corn throughout the kingdom. Thus, his income should not be absolutely either corn or money ; but the value of so much corn to be paid in money.

As to the fund from whence these receipts should arise, that fund should be a charge on the barony, to be levied like other county charges—this method is easy, for it is already in use—the head constable should be the parson's collector, and the county should be his security.

To this I know the objection, and it is an objection which can be best answered by those who make it. It will be said that this scheme prevents the division of unions, and the encrease of poor livings. Apply the first fruits as they ought for the encrease of poor livings, and the repairs of the church, and then you will answer your own argument; but a fictitious and remote valuation for the benefit of the rich clergy has been made of these charitable funds, frustrating the purpose of the charity equally to the neglect of the church and poor. The luxury of the priest has usurped the funds of the poor and of the church, then sets up against both a miserable modus, and prescribes in this instance against charity and religion.

However, if the dignitaries of the church will not, Parliament may answer this argument, and provide for more clergy as occasion shall permit. You impair by act of Parliament; with proper provision, when you see the necessity, you may divide. The care of religion is placed no where better than in the legislature. Popery will tell you, that when it was entirely left to the care of the priesthood, it was perverted and destroyed.

But if difficulties should be made to this plan—and in order to give the church the growth of the country—there is another plan, a modus; let every article which shall be subject to tithe be set forth in a tithing table, with certain ratages annexed—let those ratages be taken, and set forth in the tithing table as now equivalent to so many stone of bread corn.

Let the act provide, that there shall be a septennial valuation of bread corn, by the clerk of the market, or the proper officer.

Let there be exemption for the rudiments of manufacture, and a saving for all local custom and exemptions—such as potatoes in most places, hay in several, and such like.

In order to form this modus, which should be provincial, not universal, let four provincial committees be appointed. You will see a precedent in your journals; on the report of these provincial committees, form your bill. In your bill you will probably think proper to give agistment, or a certain sum for head-money, not in addition to, but in ease of ratages on tillage.

In forming your ratages, you will probably enquire into the acreable ratages now established, and adopt them where they are reasonable, and reject them where they are exorbitant—where there are no acreable ratages established, the contiguous parish or county, where they are established, will furnish you with a rule.

If once you appoint committees, the parson and parish will both come forth with information—and from both you will col-

lest the present ratages, and be enabled to make a rule. In forming this rule, you will probably think proper to exempt the poor man's garden in the South from the tithe of potatoes.

The true principle with respect to your peasantry, is exoneration—and if I could not take the burden entirely off their back, I would make that burden as light as possible—I would exempt the peasant's cow and garden from tithe; if I could not make him rich, I would do the next thing in my power—I would consider his poverty as sacred, and vindicate against an extortioner the hallowed circle of his little boundary. The loss to the church might be easily compensated—particularly if you give agistment or head-money in case of tillage.

I would also relieve the North from small dues, as I would relieve the poor of the South from the tithe of potatoes—and where these small dues had long obtained, I would make the parson compensation, either by giving him head-money, or by making an estimate of these dues, and raising them in the way of other-county charges. Should it be said that we should as well exempt the peasant from rent as from tithe; to that uncharitable and unchristian observation, I answer, no. The land is not his own, but his labour is his own.—The peasant is born without an estate—he is born with hands—and no man has a natural right to the labour of those hands, unless he pays him: Thus, when you demand of the peasants rent—you ask for your own estate—when you demand tithe, you ask for a portion of the peasant's estate, the poor man's only estate, the inheritance which he has in the labour of his hand, and the sweat of his brow.

Human laws may make alterations, and when made, must be observed; but it should be the policy of human laws to follow the wisdom of the law of nature.

The result of these principles, and of these committees proceeding on the rules I have submitted, would be the benefit of the church, as well as the relief of the farmer, for establishing a modus on the average ratages of a certain number of years, except in cases of exaction; you would give the church as much as they have at present, except in those instances of unconscionable demand—and as the ratages would come net to the owner of the tithe, you would in fact, on this principle, give the church more; the spoil of the tithe-farmer would, therefore, enable you even to lower the ratage, and yet, give more to the church; so that the result would probably be, that the moderate clergyman would get more, and the uncharitable clergyman would get less—which would be a distribution of justice, as well as of property—Having once agreed on the modus, I would wish to give the clergy or lay-impropriator, for the recovery of their income, any mode they choose to appoint, civil bill, or any other method, and then you will save them the charge and disgrace of an expensive agency, which expense arises from the difficulty of the recovery and the uncer-

tainty of the demand ; and if you add the facility and cheapness of collection with the certainty of income to the quantum under the modus on the principles I have stated, you will find the value of the church property would, even in the opinion of a notary public, be encreased, though the imaginary claim would be circumscribed and diminished. This is no commutation, no innovation ; here is only a regulation of tithe, and an abolition of tithe-farmers, and of those abuses which have grown out of the uncertainty of tithe ; it takes from tithe its deadly sting, uncertainty, and makes it cease to be a growing penalty on extraordinary labour ; and it puts the question directly to the moderation of the church, will you insist on indefinite demand, and unconscionable ratage, as an essential part of the Christian religion, or the Protestant establishment ? The Bible is the answer to this question, even though the clergyman should be silent—and it is therefore I press this method the more, because it does not involve the subject in speculation, nor rest the redress of the peasantry on the ingenuity of system, but makes that relief a matter of moderation, and of Christian charity : were you disposed to go farther you might form, on this regulation, a commutation which should more effectually relieve the plow, and should, at the same time, give the benefit of the growth of the country to the church : let a person in each parish, be appointed in vestry by the parson and the parishioners, and if they do not agree, let each appoint their own, who shall every year make a return of acres under tillage to applotters, who shall make a valuation of the same according to a tithing table, such as I have stated to be established by act of Parliament, and that valuation to be raised in the manner of other baronial charges ; thus the parson's income would increase with the extent of tillage, without falling principally on the plow. The principle of this plan, if you choose to go beyond a modus, is obvious ; the mechanical part of this, and of the other regulation which I have submitted, will be best detailed in the provincial committees, if you shall choose to appoint them, for, in fact, your plan must arise out of the enquiry, and the resolutions of these committees, and the great difficulty on the subject is your aversion to the enquiry. There are other difficulties, I allow, the difficulties of pride, the difficulties of passion, the difficulties of bigotry, contraction of the head, and hardness of the heart. Tithes are made more respectable than and superior to any other kind of property. The High Priest will not take a parliamentary title ; that is, in other words, he thinks they have a divine right to tithe.

Whence ? None from the Jews ; the priesthood of the Jews had not the tenth ; the Levites had the tenth, because they had no other inheritance ; but Aaron and his sons had but the tenth of that tenth ; that is, the priesthood of the Jews had but the hundredth part, the rest was for other uses ; for the rest of the Lev-

vites, and for the poor, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, and the temple. But supposing the Jewish priesthood had the tenth, which they certainly had not; the Christian priesthood does not claim under them. Christ was not a Levite, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor of the Jewish priesthood, but came to protest against that priesthood, their worship, their ordinances, their passover, and their circumcision. Will a Christian priesthood say it was meet to put down the Jewish, but meet likewise to seize on the spoil; as if their riches were of divine right, though their religion was not; as if Christian disinterestedness might take the land, and the tithe given in lieu of land, and possessed of both, and divested of the charity, exclaim against the avarice of the Jews?

The Apostles had no tithe, they did not demand it, they and He whose mission they preached, protested against the principle on which tithe is founded.—“Carry neither scrip, nor purse, nor shoes; into whatever house ye go say, peace.” Here is concord and contempt of riches, not tithe. “Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor for your bodies what ye shall put on;” so said Christ to his Apostles. Does this look like a right in his priesthood to a tenth of the goods of the community?

“Beware of covetousness—seek not what ye shall eat, but seek the kingdom of God.”

“Give alms—provide yourselves with bags that wax not old, a treasure in Heaven which faileth not.” This does not look like a right in the Christian priesthood to the tenth of the goods of the community exempted from the poor’s dividend.

“Distribute unto the poor, and seek treasure in Heaven.”

“Take care that your hearts be not charged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and the cares of this life.”

One should not think that our Saviour was laying the foundation of tithe, but cutting up the roots of the claim, and prophetically admonishing some of the modern priesthood. If these precepts are of divine right, tithes cannot, be so; the precept which orders a contempt of riches, the claim which demands a tenth of the fruits of the earth for the ministers of the gospel.

The peasantry in apostolic times had been the object of charity, not of exaction. Those to whose cabin the tithe-farmer has gone for tithe of turf, and to whose garden he has gone for the tithe potatoes, the Apostles would have visited likewise; but they would have visited with contribution, not for exaction: the poor had shared with the Apostles, though they contribute to the churchman.

The gospel is not an argument for, but against the right divine of tithe; so are the first fathers of the church.

It is the boast of Tertullian, “*Nemo compellitur sed sponte confert hæc quasi deposita sunt pietatis.*”

“ With us men are not under the necessity of redeeming their religion, what we have is not raised by compulsion, each contributes what he pleases ; *modicam unusquisque stipendium vel cum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit* ; what we receive we bestow on the poor, the old, the orphan, and the infirm.”

Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, tells you, the expences of the church are frugal and sparing, but her charity great—he calls the clergy his *fratres sportulantes*—a fraternity living by contribution.

Forfake, says Origen, the priests of Pharaoh, who have earthly possessions, and come to us who have none—we must not consume what belongs to the poor—we must be content with simple fare, and poor apparel.

Chrysostome, in the close of the fourth century, declares, that there was no practice of tithes in the former ages—and Erasmus says, that the attempt to demand them, was no better than tyranny.

But there is an authority still higher than the opinions of the fathers—there is the authority of a council—the Council of Antioch, in the fourth century, which declares, that bishops may distribute the goods of the church, but must take no part to themselves, nor to the priests that lived with them, unless necessity required them justly—“ Have food and raiment, be therewith content.”

This was the state of the church in its purity in the fifth century—decimation began, and Christianity declined ; then indeed the right of tithe was advanced, and advanced into a stile that damned it. The preachers who advanced the doctrine placed all Christian virtue in the payment of tithe. They said that the Christian religion, as we say the Protestant religion, depended on it. They said, that those who paid not their tithes, would be found guilty before God ; and if they did not give the tenth, that God would reduce the country to a tenth.—Blasphemous preachers—gross ignorance of the nature of things—impudent familiarity with the ways of God—audacious, assumed knowledge of his judgments, and a false denunciation of his vengeance. And yet even these rapacious, blasphemous men did not acknowledge to demand tithe for themselves, but the poor—alms ! the debt of charity—the poor’s patrimony. “ We do not limit you to a precise sum ; but you will not give less than the Jews”—*decimæ sunt tributa egentium animarum redde tributa pauperibus*. Augustine goes on and tells you, that as many poor as die in your neighbourhood for want, you not paying tithe, of so many murders will you be found guilty, at the tribunal of God—*tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni judicis apparebit*. Let us, says St. Jerome, at least follow the example of the Jews, and part of the whole give to the priest and the poor. To these authorities we are to add, the decree of two councils—the Provincial Council of

Mafcon, in the clofe of the fixth century, and the decree of the Council of Nantz, in the clofe of the ninth. The firft orders that tithes may be brought in by the people, that the prieft may expend them for the ufe of the poor, and the redemption of captives.—The latter decrees, that the clergy are to ufe the tithes, not as a property, but a trust—*non quafi fuis fed commendatis*.

It was not the table of the prieft nor his domesticks, nor his apparel, nor his influence, nor his ambition; but a Chriftian equipage of tender virtues—the widow, the orphan, and the poor; they did not demand the tithe as a Corporation of Proprietors, like an Eaft India Company, or a South Sea Company, with great rights of property annexed, diftinct from the community, and from religion; but as trustees, humble trustees to God, and the poor, pointed out they prefumed by excefs of holinefs and contempt of riches. Nor did they refort to decimation, even under thefe plaufible pretentions, until forced by depredation committed by themfelves on one another. The goods of the church of whatever kind, were at firft in common, diftributed to the fupport of the church, and the provifion of the poor—but at length the more powerful part, thofe who attended the courts of princes—they who intermeddled in ftate affairs, the bufy high prieft, and the fervile, feditious, clerical politician; and particularly the abbots who had engaged in war, and had that pretence for extortion, ufurped the fund, left the bufinefs of prayer to the inferior clergy, and the inferior clergy to tithe and the people.

Thus the claim of tithe originated in real extortion, and was propagated by affected charity; at firft, for the poor and the church, afterwards fubject to the fourfold divifion, the bifhop, the fabric, the minifter, and the poor; this in Europe.

In England tithe is not founded on divine right, but was faid to be introduced by murder: a King of Mercia in the feventh century affaffinates another Prince in a moft barbarous manner, and grants, with what power I know not, the tenth of his fubjects goods, for abfolution; but in England, as elfewhere, the fourfold divifion took place—fo fays Blackftone.

Nay the preamble of the grant of Stephen recognizes tithe to be alms.

Since it is divulged far and near by the church, that fouls may receive abfolution by the grant of alms, “ I, Stephen, to fave my own foul, that of my father’s, and that of my mother’s, and my relations.”

Then he goes on and grants or confirms tithes and other things.

Nay, there are two acts of Parliament exprefs, one the 13th Richard II. providing that for the appropriation of benefices, here fhall be provifion made for the vicar and the poor*.

* *Because divers damages and hindrances have oftentimes happened by the appropriation of benefices in fome places—it is agreed, that in*

The cause of this act of Parliament were benefices given to persons who did not, or could not preach, lay persons, sometimes nuns, (as we give them to non-residents) to the neglect of the poor's portion.

These principles were departed from, and the trust most undoubtedly buried in oblivion; but let me add the Christian religion was forgotten likewise.

Hence the Reformation bringing back Christianity to its old purity; and hence a superior and milder order of priests who purged the spiritual and some of the temporal abominations, but did not entirely relinquish the claim to the tithe; though I must own great numbers have too much purity to insist on it—a claim which I have shewn to have been in its creation an encroachment on the laity, and in its application an encroachment on the poor. No divine right, no, nor natural right: the law of Nature and the law of God are the same; the law of Nature doth not give property, but the law of Nature abhors that disproportion of property which is to be found in the claim of 900 or 1000 men to the 10th of the goods of 3,000,000; a claim in the 3000th part of the community to the 10th of its property—surfeit on the part of the few—famine on the part of the many—a distribution of the fruits of the earth; impossible, beastly, shocking in itself, and when accompanied with a claim to extravagant moderation and purity, ridiculous and disgusting—a claim against the proportions of Nature and the precepts of the Gospel.

I know there are acts of Parliament on this subject. The act of Henry VIII. which requires the setting out of the tithe; an act of collection, not creation; an act which had the lay impropriator in view, and which seems to take for granted a claim of superstition, founded on the pretence of charity.—I know there are many subsequent acts (which are called tithe-bills) intended to assist the collection of customary, not full tithe, and in that confidence granted by Parliament. I am not now enquiring whether the claim to the full tithe is legal, but whether the application of that tithe for the sole purpose of supporting the priest is a usurpation. And, I have shewn you that tithe was a charity, subject to the support of the poor in the first place, and the priest in the last.—I have shewn you that tithe does not stand on the delicate ground of private property.—I have shewn you that it was a trust converted into a property, by abuse;—which abuse the legisla-

every license it shall be expressly comprised, that the diocesan of the place shall ordain, according to the value of such churches, a convenient sum of money shall be paid and distributed yearly out of the fruits and profits of some churches to the poor parishioners of some churches in aid of their sustenance for ever; likewise that the Vicar be well and sufficiently endowed—Statute Henry IV. confirms this act.

ture may controul, without sacrilege or robbery.—If a right to the full tenth is yet insisted on, give them the full tenth, on the principles on which alone they at first ventured to demand it—subject to a poor rate—Let the trust be executed—let widows and orphans share it—let the house of industry and the various hospitals and infirmaries share it—Let the house of God (now a hovel repaired at the expence of Parliament, though, by the canon law, it should be repaired by the priesthood) share it; let the poorer order of peasantry share it. If the clergy will insist on taking the full tithes of his potatoes, if they take the staff out of his hands, they must carry the peasant on their shoulders. Thus, the clergy insisting on the *summum jus*, and the laity on the *summa justitia*, the former would not be richer by the change. I should on such a change, condole with the church, and congratulate the poor; and I should applaud the discretion, as well as the moderation, of those excellent pastors who did not rake up from the ashes of superstition, this claim to the tenth, but were satisfied with competence and character, and brotherly love, and a right to live by their ministry, a right, set forth in the Gospel, and which Nature had set forth, even though the Gospel had been silent.

“Impracticable,” impracticable,” impracticable,” a zealous divine will say, any alteration is beyond the power and wisdom of Parliament—above the faculties of man to make adequate provision for 900 clergymen who despise riches: were it to raise a new tax for their provision, or for that of a body less holy—how easy the task! how various the means! but, when the proposal is to diminish a tax already established—an impossibility glares us in the face, of a measure so contrary to our practices both in church and state.

If you think the property of the church divine, and that when you affect it at all, you touch on holy things, then call the proposal and call the reformation prophane, sacrilegious, blasphemous, but never call the proposal impracticable. How are the clergy paid in Holland? by fixed salary—How in Scotland? by fixed salary—never less than 1000 marks, nor more than 3000; are the clergy in Scotland deficient! Has history no obligation to the clergy of that sagacious people—how are the civil, military, and revenue establishments paid in Ireland? by fixed salary.—You have not found it difficult, but fatally facile to create such salaries. In these last twenty years, you have created not a few, and you have done this for laymen, to whom salary was the principal object; but for the church, where the provision, the temporal consideration is but secondary—a moderate means for the support of the great duty of prayer—to suppose the regulation, or even moderation of that provision impracticable, annexes a most transcendent importance to what is gross and temporal, and a comparative insignificance to what is pure and spiritual, and throws a certain complexion of grossness, and inabstinence on certain devout and most learned controversialists.

If indeed you conceive what is given in commutation should be equal to the tenth of your produce, the impracticability is admitted. While I admire the enormity of the suggestion, I acknowledge the impracticability of the execution of it. I believe the legislature will never agree to give them the tenth either in commutation or tithe—both are impracticable—such a claim, and such a commutation, that 900 men should have the tenth of the property of 3,000,000; and you will find we are much more—the custom of the country, the modus of several places, your own vote of agistment, and above all the interest of religion, and of frugal piety forbid it—give them the tenth and you give away your religion; but if you mean a commutation for customary profits, not extravagant claims, I think I have shewn you that commutation is not impracticable; I have shewn you how their present livings can be discovered, and can be commuted: the value is not an impenetrable mystery; there is hardly a parish in which you could avoid to find twelve respectable parishioners who would ascertain their ratages, and their income; nor is there a clergyman who could not tell you, nor a tithe-farmer, nor a tithe-proctor, nor a bishop, for he in his traffic with the minister about translation generally gives in a schedule of the value of the livings in his diocese. I think it unnecessary to add, that there are several acts, and one of the last session, requiring such a discovery, and the ratages in certain cases to be made on oath.

Men are apt to argue as if an error in that discovery might be fatal, as if the essence of religion was in the quantum of solid food, and as if 30l. a year more, or 30l. less, would be a difference decisive as to the propagation of the Gospel. The inaccuracy that may attend the various ways of information on this subject cannot be much, and if it shall in a small degree lower the great livings and raise the small, cannot be fatal.

I should not wish to give the ministers of the Gospel less than they have at present, except in some cases of hardship and extortion; but suppose some of them did receive less, would the church fall? The importance and the difficulty of accuracy on this question are both over-rated.

This objection of impracticability therefore against a commutation is but a pretence, and against a modus is not even a pretence; or is it impracticable to enquire into the present ratages, and on that information to proceed? If so, if this step is impracticable, the abuses that grow out of tithes are incurable, and then you ought to reject the system of tithe as an incorrigible evil, and recur to another mode of paying your clergy. If a modus is impossible, a commutation is necessary.

We are too apt to conceive public cares impracticable—every thing bold and radical in the shape of public redress is termed impracticable.

I remember when a Declaration of Right was thought impracticable—when the Independency of the Irish Parliament was

thought impracticable—when the establishment of a Free Trade was thought impracticable—when the restoration of the Judicature of our Peers was thought impracticable—when an exclusion of the Legislative Power of the Council was thought impracticable—when a limited Mutiny-bill, with Irish articles of war in the body of it, and the Declaration of Right in its front, was thought impracticable—when the formation of a Tenantry-bill, for securing to the tenantry of Ireland their leasehold interest was thought impracticable—and yet those things have not only come to pass, but form the base on which we stand. Never was there a country to which the argument of impracticability was less applicable than Ireland.

Ireland is a great capacity not yet brought into action—much has been civilized, much has been reclaimed, but something is to be redressed—the lower orders of the people claim your attention—the best husbandry is the husbandry of the human creature. What! can you reclaim the tops of your mountains, and cannot you improve your people? Every animal, except the tyger, (as I have heard) is capable of being reclaimed—the method is to feed, to feed after a long hunger—you have with your own peasantry began the process, and you had better complete the experiment.

Inadequate—inadequate, interposes the advocate for exaction; the rich will intercept the relief intended by Parliament.

This objection supposes the condition of the peasantry to be poor in the last degree—it supposes that condition to arise from various complicated causes; low price of labour, high price of land, number of absentees, and other causes, and it refers the poor to the hangman for regulation, and to Providence for relief; and it justifies this abandonment of one part of the community, by a crimination of the other: on a surmise that the upper orders of men in this country are complete extortioners, and would convert abatement of tithe into increase of rent, and thus intercept the justice of Parliament.—Here I must absolutely and instantly deny the fact; the landlords are not as described; expensive frequently, I allow; but an hospitable, a humane and affectionate people—the genius of the Irish nation is affection—the gentlemen are not extortioners by nature, nor (as the tithe-farmer is) by profession. In some cases they do set their land too high, in many not, and on that head they are daily becoming more reasonable.

Your Magistracy-bill, your Riot-act, your Compensation-bill, what becomes of the authority of these laws with the lower orders—if you argue them into a conviction, that the landlords of Ireland, that is, the landed interest who passed these acts in their collective capacity, are in their individual capacity but so many extortioners? Look to the fact, to their leases for thirty-one years, or three lives—not like bishops leases; look to their lands—not like church lands. See the difference between the lands of lay-

men, who have an interest in the inheritance, and of church men, who have only the *esprit de corps*, that is, a false and barren pride in the succession; look to the landlords conduct—they passed a Tenantry-bill—the bishops rejected a lease-bill, and have almost uniformly resisted every bill that tended to the improvement of the country.—If by the remotest possibility, their body could be in the smallest degree prejudiced in the most insignificant of its least warrantable pretensions; but if still you doubt, call forth the tenantry, and put the question to them—do not take your opinion from the oppressor; ask the oppressed, and they will tell you what we know already, that the great oppression is tithe; the middle-man's over-reaching, as in many instances, I acknowledge he is, (compared to the tithe-farmer's) is mercy. Suppose him as destitute of compunction, he is not armed with the same powers of torture, though he had the same genius for oppression—he has not his own tribunals, nor can he put the countryman to expence of attending on Vicars Courts, nor of watching his crop, nor of delaying his harvest home, nor of notices, nor summonses, nor of drinking at his ale-house, while the value of the tithe is computed, nor of all that train of circumstances and charge with which the uncertain dues of the church are now collected, at the expence of the morals of the people.

But if the charge was founded in fact, it is not an argument, and has nothing to say to the question, where similar exertions of oppression, if morally probable, are rendered legally impossible. The landlord cannot in consequence of exemption from tithe, raise his rent on his lessees, during the continuance of the term. Now, do you imagine that it is the cottier only, and not the lessee also, that complain of tithe—they are both aggrieved—the tenantry of Ireland are aggrieved—the lessee therefore, must be relieved by the plan, and the cottier cannot be equally oppressed, because he agrees for his rent before he sows his crop—but pays his tithe afterwards; the latter of course must be, and the former cannot be, a charge for his extraordinary labour. Rent is a charge on land, tithe on labour—the one definite, the other indefinite; they are not convertible; encrease your rent under any pretence, still it must avoid the essential evil of tithe—the evil of being arbitrary; a tax rising with industry. Suppose the severest case, one pound an acre advanced rent for potatoe ground, the cottier by extraordinary labour, works himself comparatively out of his rent, and into a greater tithe; thus extortion by rent, is but a cruel compulsion on extraordinary labour—but tithe a penalty.

There are certain arguments, which leading to something absurd and nonsensical, are stricken out of the tribe of logic; those arguments should meet the same fate which lead to something that is worse than either nonsense or absurdity—to cruelty and to oppression.—Of this tribe is the reasoning I now combat, an ar-

gument which would leave the landlords without character, to leave the common people without redress—I condemn the premise, but I abhor the conclusion.—What! should the clergy oppress the poor, because the landlords (as is alledged) do so already? because the latter (as is alledged) over value land—shall the church overcharge labour? because the peasant pays (as is alledged) sometimes five or six pounds per acre for his land, shall he pay twelve or twenty shillings to the parson for his potatoes? The premises of this argument impeach the character of the higher order, and the conclusion would steel one order against the other; and the result of such reasoning would leave you (what it affects to find you) wicked and miserable; and common sense and Christian charity lift up their hands against such an opprobrious premise, and such a pernicious conclusion.

If such were the state of our country, the church should interpose and give a good example, and not follow a bad one; they should say, we will take the lead; we will ourselves moderate the exactions which oppress the poor—if the rich take the advantage; and frustrate our pious intention, we are not in fault—the character of religion is free, her ministers do not participate the plunder of the people. The vote of agistment left the measure I propose practicable, and made it necessary; by that vote you sent the parson from the demesne of the gentleman into the garden of the cottager—by that vote you said you shall not tax us—it remains for you to say, you shall not tithe the poor unconscionably; but, going as far as that vote and no farther, you declare to the proprietors of tithe—“Tithe the poor as you please, provided we do not pay you;” and this is what some mean by their zeal in the support of the church—this is the more exceptionable, when you recollect that of the poor who pay your clergy, there are numbers, of a different religion, who of course receive no consideration from your clergy, and must pay another clergy. The Protestant interest may require that these should contribute to the Protestant establishment; but, the proportion and the manner in which you now make them contribute, redounds but little to Protestant honour, either in church or state.

Aye! but will you encourage tumult? Will you reward the whiteboy? Will you give a premium to disturbance?—Sir, do not advert so lightly to the state of this country, nor pass so superciliously over general distress as to think that the right-boy or white-boy, (or by whatever other vagrant denomination tumult delights to describe itself) are the only persons who suffer by the present state of tithes; there are two other descriptions who are oppressed by them—those who did nothing in the late disturbance; and those who took part to quell them. Can you suppose so many would have been neutral in the suppression, if they had not been a party to the oppression? and have you complained of the languor of your magistracy, and the supineness of the Protestant

country gentlemen, without adverting to the reason? The tumult was confined, but the suffering was extensive. But there is another body of men who suffer—they who took part to suppress. Have they any pretensions? Do you deny that they are sufferers?—they will come to the bar and prove it—they will prove two things very material, very worthy your attention—their merit and their suffering.

Yes, but will you innovate? Admit this argument, and we sit here to consecrate abuses. The statutes of Mortmain were innovations—the suppression of Monasteries innovation—the Reformation innovation—for, what is the Protestant religion, but the interposition of Parliament, rescuing Christianity from abuses introduced by its own priesthood?

Institutions divine and human corrupt by their nature or by ours—the best human institution, the British constitution, did so corrupt, that, at different periods, it was anarchy, oligarchy despotism—and was restored by Parliament.

The only divine institution we know of, the Christian religion, did so corrupt, as to have become an abomination, and was rescued by act of Parliament.

Life, ^{the} establishments, declines—disease is the lot of nature—we oppose its progress by strong remedies, we drink a fresh life at some medicinal fountain, or we find specific in some salubrious herb: Will you call these restoratives innovation on the physical æconomy? Why then, in the political æconomy, those statutes which purge the public weal, and from time to time guard that firm animal man against the evils to which civil society is exposed, the encroachments of the priest and the politician.

It is then on a false surmise of our nature—this objection; we live by a succession of amendment; such is the history of man, such above all, is the history of religion, where amendment was even opposed; and those cant expressions, the supporting church and state, were ever advanced to continue the abuses of both. On those occasions prejudices from the ragged battlement of superstition ever screened innovation. When our Elizabeth established the Protestant religion, she was called an innovatress—when Luther began the reformation, he was called an innovator; nay, when Herod and the high priest Caiphas (and high priests of all religions are the same) heard that one had gone forth into the multitude preaching, gathering the poor like the hen under her wing—saying to the rich, give unto the poor, and look for treasures in Heaven, and take heed that your hearts be not overcharged with luxury, surfeit, and the eases of this life; I say, when Herod and the High Priest saw the author of the Christian religion, thus giving comfort and countenance, and hope to the poor, they were astonished, they felt in his rebuke of their own pomp and pride, and gluttony and beastliness, great innovation—they felt in the sublimity of his moral, great innovation;

they saw in the extent of his public care, great innovation; and accordingly they conspired against their Saviour, as an innovator; and, under the pretence of supporting what they called the Church and State, they stigmatized the redemption of man, and they crucified the Son of God.

If we were desirous to retort on the church the argument of innovation—its own history is fertile; what is the idea of property in the church, but an innovation? their conversion of property from the great body of the Christians, to their own use? innovation—their temporal power? innovation—their application for donations, equal to tenth? innovation—their conversion of those donations to their own use? innovation—their excluding the fabric of the church as well as the poor, from the benefit of those donations? innovations—their various tithe bills? innovation—their Riot-act? innovation—their Compensation-act? innovation!

To judge of the objection of innovation against my plan, see what that plan does not do!

It does not affect the doctrine of our religion—it does not alter the church establishment—it does not affect the constitution of episcopacy. The modus does not even alter the mode of their provision, it only limits the quantum; and limits it on principles much less severe than that charity which they preach, or that abstinence which they inculcate. Is this innovation? Moderation, innovation! as if the Protestant religion was to be propagated in Ireland, like the influence of a minister, by bribery; or like the influence of a county candidate, by money; or like the cause of a potwalloping canvasser, by the weight of the purse; as if Christ could not prevail over the earth, unless Mammon took him by the hand. Am I to understand, that if you give the parson 12s. in the acre for potatoes, and 10s. for wheat, the Protestant religion is safe on its rock; but if you reduce him to 6s. the acre for potatoes and wheat, then Jupiter shakes the Heaven with his thunder—Neptune rakes up the deep with his trident, and Pluto leaps from his throne?—arguments and appetites which depart from Christian purity, are best illustrated by Heathen mythology. See the curate—he rises at six to morning prayers; he leaves company at six for evening prayer; he baptizes, he marries, he churches, he buries, he follows with pious offices his fellow creature from the cradle to the grave—for what immense income!—what riches to reward these inestimable services? Do not depend on the penury of the laity. Let his own order value his deserts; 50l. a year; 50l. for praying, for christening, for marrying, for churching, for burying, for following with Christian offices his fellow creature from cradle to grave—so frugal a thing is devotion, so cheap religion, so easy the terms on which man may worship his Maker, and so small the income in the opinion of eccle-

siastics, sufficient for the duties of a clergyman, as far as he is connected at all with the Christian religion.

I think the curate has by far too little—bloomed with the full tenth, I think the church would have abundantly too much.

The provision of the church is not absolute property, like an estate, but payment for a duty: it is salary for prayer, not the gift of God independent of the duty. He did not send his Son to suffer on earth, to establish a rich priesthood, but to save mankind—it is the donation of the laity, for the duty of prayer. The labourer deserves hire for doing his duty—he is paid not as a high priest, but a pastor in his evangelic, not his corporate capacity—when he desires to live by his ministry, he demands his right; when he desires the tenth of your wealth, he demands your right, and he presumes riches to be the right of the church, instead of supposing what he ought, the Gospel to be the right of the people, and competency for preaching the Gospel—not luxury to be the right, as it is the profession of the church. A provision for the Minister of the Gospel on its own principles, keeping clear of the two extremes—poverty on one side, and riches on the other; both are avocations from prayer; poverty, which is a struggle how to live, and riches, which are an occupation how to spend. But of the two extremes, I should dread riches—and above all, such indefinite riches as the tenth of the industry, capital, and land of 3,000,000, would heap in the kitchens of 900 clergymen—an impossible proportion; but if possible, an avocation of a very worldly kind, introducing gratifications of a very temporal nature—passions different from the precepts of the Gospel. Ambition, pride, and vain glory, add to this acquisition of the tenth—the litigation which must attend it; and the double avocation of luxury and law, conceive a war of citations, contempts, summonses, civil bills, proctors, attorneys, and all the voluminous train of discord, carried on at the suit of the man of peace—by the plaintiff in the pulpit, against the defendants, his congregation. It is a strong argument against the tenth, that such claim is not only inconsistent with the nature of things, but absolutely incompatible with the exercise of the Christian religion. Had the Apostles advanced, among the Jews, pretensions to the tenth of the produce of Judea, they would not have converted a less perverse generation; but they were humble and inspired men—they went forth in humble guise, with naked foot, and brought to every man's door in his own tongue, the true belief; their word prevailed against the potentates of the earth, and on the ruin of the Barbaric pride, and Pontific luxury—they placed the naked majesty of the Christian religion.

This light was soon put down by its own ministers, and on its extinction a beastly and pompous priesthood ascended. Political potentates, not Christian pastors—full of false zeal, full of worldly

pride, and full of gluttony—empty of the true religion. To their flock oppressive—to their inferior clergy brutal—to their king abject, and to their God impudent and familiar; they stood on the altar, as a stepping stool to the throne, glozing in the ear of princes, whom they poisoned with crooked principles and heated advice, and were a faction against their king, when they were not his slaves; ever the dirt under his feet, or a poignard in his heart.

Their power went down; it burst of its own plethora, when a poor reformer, with the Gospel in his hand, and in the inspired spirit of poverty, restored the Christian religion—the same principle which introduced Christianity guided reformation. What Luther did for us, philosophy has done in some degree for the Roman Catholics, and that religion has undergone a silent reformation, and both divisions of Christianity, unless they have lost their understanding, must have lost their animosity, though they have retained their distinctions. The priesthood of Europe is not now what it was once; their religion has encreased as their power has diminished. In these countries particularly, for the most part, they are a mild order of men, with less dominion and more piety therefore, their character for the most part may be described in few words—morality, enlightened by letters, and exalted by religion—such many of our parochial clergy, with some exceptions however, particularly in some of the disturbed parts of the kingdom—such some of the heads of the church—such the very head of the church in Ireland. That comely personage who presides over a vast income, and thinks he has great revenues, but is mistaken—being in fact nothing more than the steward of the poor, and a mere instrument in the hand of Providence, making the best possible distribution of the fruits of the earth—nay, there are of the church some superior to the prejudice which on the subject of tithes may be expected. Of all institutions, says Paley, adverse to cultivation, none so noxious as tithe—not only a tax on industry, but the industry that feeds mankind; it is true!—the mode of providing for the church is exceptionable, and in some parts of Ireland has been, I apprehend, attended with very considerable abuses: these are what I wish to submit to you—you will enquire whether in some cases the demands for tithes have not been illegal, the collection of them oppressive, the excess of demand uncharitable, and the growth of it considerable and oppressive.

Whether in all cases the tithe-farmer has been a merciful pastor—the tithe-proctor an upright agent—and even the vicar himself a most unbiassed judge.

In this enquiry, or in forming some regulations from this enquiry, you will not be with-held by the arguments of pride, bigotry and prejudice—that argument which reflecting on God maintains the sacred rights of exaction—that other argu-

ment which reflecting on Parliament denies your capacity to give redress—that other argument which reflecting on human nature supposes that you inflame mankind by redressing their grievances—that other argument which traduces the landed interest of Ireland as an extortioner, and belies one part of the community to continue the miseries of the other—an argument of calumny, an argument of cruelty. Least of all should you be withheld by that idle intimation stuffed into the speech from the throne, suggesting that the church is in danger, and holding out from that awful seat of authority, false lights to the nation, as if we had doated back to the nonsense of Sacheverel's days, and were to be ridden once more by the fools and bigots.—Parliament is not a bigot—you are no sectary, no polemic—it is your duty to unite all men, to manifest brotherly love, and confidence to all men—the parental sentiment is the true principle of Government. Men are ever finally disposed to be governed by the instrument of their happiness; the mystery of Government would you learn it?—look on the Gospel, and make the source of your redemption the rule of authority, and like the hen in the scripture, expand your wings and take in all your people.

Let bigotry and schism, the zealots fire, the high priest's intolerance, through all their discordancy, tremble, while an enlightened Parliament, with arms of general protection, overarches the whole community, and roots the Protestant ascendancy in the sovereign mercy of its nature; laws of coercion, perhaps, necessary, certainly severe, you have put forth already, but your great engine of power, you have hitherto kept back; that engine, which the pride of the bigot, nor the spite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the inquisition with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of: the engine which armed with physical and moral blessing comes forth, and overlays mankind by services; the engine of redress—this is Government, and this the only description of Government worth your ambition. Were I to raise you to a great act, I should not recur to the history of other nations; I would recite your own acts, and set you in emulation with yourselves. Do you remember that night, when you gave your country a Free Trade, and with your hands opened all her harbours.—That night when you gave her a Free Constitution, and broke the chains of a century—while England, eclipsed at your glory and your island, rose as it were from its bed, and got nearer to the sun. In the arts that polish life—the inventions that accommodate—the manufactures that adorn it—you will be for many years inferior to some other parts of Europe; but, to nurse a growing people—to mature a struggling, though hardy community, to mould, to multiply, to consolidate, to inspire, and to exalt a young nation; be these your barbarous accomplishments?

I speak this to you, from a long knowledge of your character, and the various resources of your soul; and I confide my motion to those principles not only of justice, but of fire; which I have observed to exist in your composition, and occasionally to break out in a flame of public zeal, leaving the ministers of the Crown in eclipsed degradation. It is therefore I have not come to you furnished merely with a cold mechanical plan; but have submitted to your consideration the living grievances—conceiving that any thing in the shape of oppression made once apparent—oppression too of a people you have set free—the evil will catch those warm susceptible properties which abound in your mind, and qualify you for legislation.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) said he rose with much hesitation to offer himself in opposition to a right honourable gentleman, whose superior abilities, whose splendid talents, whose romantic success in all his measures, had thrown a lustre round his name, which it was difficult to meet with a steady eye. The right honourable gentleman, long and nobly employed in building up, had now exercised his talents in pulling down; he raised the civil constitution, he pulls down the ecclesiastical, with equal probability of intention, (he was sure) but not with equal safety. The rapidity of destruction is always attended with more danger than the slow and regular steps of formation. The difficulty and danger of the enterprise naturally recommended it to the daring spirit of the author; but difficulty and danger merely would not recommend a system to this House. They would require some potent reason for this mighty change. Had the right honourable gentleman alleged any? yes; some vague information, probably furnished by interested persons; was that a foundation for a committee in these disturbed times, when the country was teeming still with outrage and combination? when, if there were grievances, the House could not, consistently with their dignity, listen to the cry; when it was notorious that the only oppression relative to the clergy was, that under which the clergy themselves suffered.

The right honourable gentleman had come forward in the habit of a friend, but his design was evidently to shake foundations almost as ancient as the state, fortified by time and consecrated with hereditary veneration, which never fell but once, and in their fall precipitated the peerage—the monarchy and the constitution.

He had made himself the arbiter of all controversy between the clergy and the laity. Who had commissioned him? Not the people, their voice had not been heard; the cry indeed of violence and anarchy had been heard. Who did not remember when this cloud first arose in the South? a vapour engendered in the filth of a county election. The powers of the country, the Nabobs of the Peninsula had persuaded the people, that tithe was the

cause of their complicated misery, and that they should be freed from tithe.

Did he appear for the clergy? Had he consulted, as was natural, with the right reverend bench? No. Was he commissioned by the inferiors? No. They knew the inconveniences of the present system—they knew the conveniences. The experience of ages had proved that the latter overbalanced. They know not his, he knew it not himself; nothing but time could unravel them. They had rather

— bear the ills they have,

Than fly to others that they know not of.

Above all, he lamented the unfortunate time the measure was brought forward; when one Compensation-bill had considerable effect, when another promised effectually to quiet the country, a motion was made, the mere agitating of which might possibly effectually bar the restoration of peace.

MR. PARSONS.—Though there may have been exactions by some individuals of the clergy, I will never consent to have the established church of this kingdom dragged like a delinquent to your bar, and arraigned, and evidences brought to asperse, perhaps to defame and to calumniate the ministers of the gospel—this would be an unseemly thing. I also object to a committee of enquiry, because for a subject so extensive as the conduct of all the vicars of the South, the whole length of the session would be unfair, and a general enquiry impracticable, I must oppose the mode in which this business is brought forward.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said that he was aware he arose to speak under great disadvantage, after the most splendid display of elocution that the House had ever heard: He warned gentlemen to awake from the delusion, and weigh only the substantial merits of the case. That the peasantry in the South were distressed, he believed no one doubted, and he was free to acknowledge that oppression was exercised over them—but he utterly and totally denied, that any part of the imputation could be laid at the door of the clergy. As to what the right honourable gentleman had mentioned, of the illegal demands of tithe-proctors, he thought the laws as they stood were sufficient to correct the evil. With respect to tithe of turf having been demanded, he had not the smallest doubt of its being clearly illegal—and if the right honourable gentleman would bring in a bill to punish the Ecclesiastical Courts which entertain them, he should have all the assistance in his power.—While he admitted the poor classes in the South to be distressed, he mentioned that they must ever continue in the same situation, while kept in ignorance and depression by those whose duty it was to protect them—their landlords; and all the exertions of the legislature to relieve them, would be in vain.

The right honourable gentleman, he said, wished to render the clergy respected—he did not think that a diminution of their incomes would raise them in the estimation of the vulgar, and if his proposed enquiry was to take place, he was certain that of sufferers, ninety-nine out an hundred would be found to be clergymen in the South of Ireland.

He appealed to the right honourable gentleman, whether all the disturbances complained of, had not originated in an election party?—If it was unknown to him, he could assure him it was the fact. The people were taught to believe that all their distresses originated with the clergy, and to revenge their sufferings upon that body of men, that Parliament might interfere, and do away all tithes. The gentleman seemed shocked at a demand of one-tenth—he assured him, that the clergyman often received no more than the one-half of that—if he would even go so far as to demand one-tenth, he would most assuredly receive none at all.—He mentioned a circumstance of a clergyman, in the county of Tipperary, who had been examined on oath, and who came forward and deposed, that he had never made a demand that was not strictly legal and moderate, and after having challenged the public to contradict him in open court, no accuser appeared to controul him. He assured the right honourable gentleman that the redress he wished to maintain would never satisfy them—it was not a commutation, but a total abolition of tithes, that they looked for—he had even heard it said in the South, that the White-boys had gone so far as to assert that the right honourable gentleman would procure for them an exemption from the hearth-tax.

If the House was to go into a committee, they would get into a state of fermentation, and if disappointed, resort to their old barbarities. He thought any plan for commutation impracticable—he thought any measure of the kind would injure the cause of religion in the South, which if once effected, would be of dangerous consequence, as there would then be no hold of the common people—at present we had none but that of their superstitious veneration; this opinion he supported, by saying the measure would imply a contempt of the ministers of the gospel, which would induce a contempt of religion itself. As to the divine right of tithes, he never gave himself the trouble to enquire into their origin, he only knew that from the English law books, they were granted time immemorial. He was against indiscriminate abuse of the clergy. The proctors, he said, might deserve much censure, but the landlords more. He was decidedly of opinion, that the systems proposed were impracticable—and that the utmost injuries must result from an adoption of them. However, if they were reduced to a bill, he would examine them. If they were such as he approved, he should support, if not he should reject them.

Mr. CURRAN said he rose to say only a few words, merely to justify his present conduct in voting for the motion, and at the same time to explain his conduct on a former occasion. He had then voted against the penal laws proposed, because he thought that severe laws against a part of the country ought not to be enacted without evidence or enquiry. He now supported the motion, in order that knowledge of the subject might follow the enquiry. Those gentlemen who declared their ignorance of that very important subject, could scarcely resist the opportunity of information. He wished for it, he said, as a friend to the church. That venerable body had been aspersed; he wished an enquiry for their justification, which he was persuaded must be the result.—He wished it for the interest of religion; while the pastor and the flock were in a state of war, the one could not be expected to teach, nor the other to learn. The latter were to be converted as well as instructed; the great ends, therefore, of Christianity as well as the diffusion of the Protestant faith, must be frustrated by these unfortunate dissensions. He wished for reconciliation for the ease, the honour, and security of the earth. He said he considered Parliament as pledged to enquire into the complaints of their fellow subjects, when the public disturbances should subside. All was now calm. It was therefore the promised, as well as the proper, season of enquiry. He thought the people had a constitutional right from the duty of Parliament, as an honorary claim upon its promise. If it be now refused, it may teach them the dangerous lesson that humility and submission are not the best means of getting either hearing or redress. If they see that pains and penalties are denounced and inflicted without any enquiry, and that enquiry is refused because it may possibly lead to redress, it must make the people desperate. He was surprised, he said, at the strange objection relied on by an honourable member [Mr. Parsons] that it would expose the clergy to aspersion. Such an objection, were it founded in fact, would be, indeed, an aspersion, and a severe one upon them; to object to an enquiry into the possible grievances in the collection of tithes upon that ground, was a libel on the church. It was a sort of defence that held out the clergy to the public as guilty men, that could not stand the test of fair enquiry, and it was holding out this House as capable of meanly conniving at that guilt; it was therefore branding the clergy and the Parliament with an unmerited imputation. As for his part, he respected highly the church. He considered it an essential part of the constitution. He would never consent to any abridgment or reduction of its rights, which the law gave them. It would be at once impolitic and unjust. He confessed he had never yet heard of any plan of commutation that was not liable to many objections; but still he thought the subject deserved investigation; even though nothing specific should immediately follow the enquiry. One salu-

tary effect at least would not fail to result; by shewing a disposition to examine into oppression or abuse, the oppressor, if such there be among those who transact the business of the clergy, will be alarmed, and the abuse will be discontinued.

He thought the character of the present Administration should be an additional inducement with the House. He could not conceive how those gentlemen that boasted so highly the spirit of œconomy and reformation, could resist the motion, unless they thought those great qualifications ought to be exerted only on party subjects—or unless they thought every duty of good government ought to be the objects only of lazy applause, not of active imitation—to be praised in their governors, and neglected by themselves. But he said he was insensibly forgetting his intention and his promise not to abuse the indulgence of the House. He had no intention of entering at large into the question. The extraordinary talents of the honourable mover, had left nothing for any one to add. He found himself as unable to add to his arguments as the other side did to answer them. He felt, he said, the awkwardness of rising at all in such circumstances, but the subject was too near his heart to give merely a silent assent to the motion.

The question was now called for, and on its being put, the House divided,

For Mr. Grattan's motion,	—	49
Against it,	—	121

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1788.

Mr. BERESFORD presented to the House, according to order, a bill to amend an act, intitled an act for making, widening and repairing the road leading from the city of Dublin to Malahide, and for erecting turnpike gates and receiving tolls thereout in aid of the barony presentments, and for appointing trustees for carrying the said purposes into execution; which was received and read the first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he begged leave to call the attention of the House to a subject of very great importance, which was the reduction of the interest of money. He said the state of the times, and the present situation of this country, were sufficient to justify the measure, and in order to lay a groundwork for the House to judge by in this business, he should, with very great deference, state to the House the different periods when a reduction of interest took place. The reduction to 10 per cent. took place in the year 1634, in the reign of Charles the first; in 1703. the second of Anne, it was reduced to 8 per cent.; in 1722, the eighth of George the first, it was reduced

to 7 per cent.; and in 1731, the fifth of George the second, it was reduced to 6 per cent.; so that there was an interval of twenty-seven years elapsed from the time interest was reduced from 8 to 7 per cent. and a period of nine years elapsed till it was reduced to 6 per cent. and from that period till now, a period of fifty-seven years has elapsed. He then stated, that in the year 1703 the annual supply was but 150,000*l.* and there are resolutions on the journals of that day, stating the decay of trade and the inability of the country. In the year 1722 the annual supply was 331,000*l.* and the same inability then existed, with a debt of 300,000*l.* carrying an interest at the rate of 6 per cent. and then borrowed the sum of 300,000*l.* at 5 per cent. He said that taking into consideration the statement at these different periods, and comparing them with the present situation of this country, when the credit of the nation is high, and no necessity existing for borrowing money; maturely considering these circumstances, it may perhaps afford a ground of reasoning in favour of a reduction of interest at the present day. He said there was a description of men who, though they were possessed of landed property, yet, from their profusion and dissipation, became needy, and who were willing to pay any rate of interest, provided they got money to supply their wants; whereas the honest and industrious trader was deterred from enlarging his view, or extending his trade, by the dread of paying a high interest, though he might be desirous of borrowing, provided he could procure at a low rate; and, he said, it was in vain for this country to look to a competition with Great Britain, or any other country in point of commerce, with a disadvantage of one-sixth against her. He observed, that the wealth of this country had increased considerably; but at the same time he was sorry to say, that great properties lay in the hands of a few, whilst the body of the people in general were but poor; and in support of his observation that the wealth of this country had considerably increased, he stated, that the public funds in this country have been higher here these several years past than what they are in England. He should adduce another argument which he thought favourable to a reduction of interest; and that was, that the tonnage of shipping had amazingly increased in this country; and he stated from the authority of Mr. Chambers, a writer of very high political credit, that in 1716, the period when the last reduction of interest took place in England, that the tonnage of England at that time was 438,606 tons, and by the Custom-house returns, the tonnage in this country is at present 516,000 tons, which is more than England had at the time of her reduction of interest to five per cent. He said it was in vain to look for an extension of trade, if we have not the means of carrying it on. After stating every advantage that would probably arise to this country from a reduction of interest, he declared that so far as respected himself, he

was no way interested in the measure, but he thought he was only discharging his duty to the public, to state these circumstances to the House; he should leave it for them to determine, and let them judge of the utility of the measure; and if it should not be now adopted, it may perhaps lay the foundation for its taking place on another day. He here observed, that much apprehensions were entertained at the establishment of the National Bank; but had not the event fully justified the utility of that measure? On the subject he had now the honour of addressing the House on, he declared, that no sort of influence should be made use of; it was a measure not to be forced on the public, but thrown out to them at large, in order to give it that due investigation which the importance of the subject required. After stating that the annual savings were increasing, and by constituting a sinking fund, in four or five years some reduction of the national debt would in all probability take place; as a period of fifty-seven years had now elapsed since the last reduction of interest took place in this country, during which time the nation has considerably increased in wealth, public credit high, and the country not in a borrowing state. Under these circumstances, and as he had already the leave of the House, he should present a bill for reducing the interest of money to five per cent.

He then presented a bill for reducing the interest of money to five per cent. which was received and read the first time.

Mr. CORRY said the right honourable gentleman had his thanks for the fair, clear and candid manner in which he had introduced his bill; at the same time it was a subject which required much information, and very great investigation; for the present he would not tell himself how he should vote, but he would give the subject matter of the bill every possible attention; and in order to do that, in his opinion, the second reading of the bill should be postponed for some days.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he was also of opinion, that a long day ought to be given for considering the bill, in order that the kingdom may be consulted, to see how far the circumstances and situation of the country are ripe for such a measure, and to give an opportunity to those who may think that they will be affected by such a change in the interest of money, to petition the House on the subject.

Mr. CORRY said he rose again to express his admiration of the very able statement made by the right honourable gentleman, but his own opinion upon the subject he had kept secret from every one, nay almost from himself, nor would he divulge it till the bill should go into a committee, where, though the principle must be admitted that it is better borrow at five than six, it might be debated whether the country was at present in a situation to admit of such a change.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he was so well convinced, that the more the plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was investigated, and the better it would be understood, the more it would be approved, that he was willing to allow the country full time to consider it, and to give people complete opportunity of stating their wishes in petitions to the House.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) rose to express his thanks to the right honourable gentleman, [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] for the very able and candid manner in which he had brought this business forward; and this he thought himself bound to do, as he had upon a former occasion entertained sentiments different from those with which the Chancellor's conduct had now impressed him.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER expressed himself much obliged to the honourable gentleman for his favourable opinion; but, he said, prejudiced as he confessed himself to be in favour of the measure, he could not think of pressing it without giving the House an opportunity of information, and he would therefore lay before the House every document that could throw light upon the subject.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he would not trouble the House upon this question, if gentlemen had not been invited to state their opinions; and though he had so much confidence in the abilities of the gentlemen who composed the present Administration, that in almost any other case he would be proud to let his opinion bend to theirs, yet in the present he feared he must differ with them.

If gentlemen would be at the pains to consider, he believed they would admit, that in two or three points the measure did not stand upon fair ground. It certainly was no question, whether money should be borrowed at five or six per cent. but whether it should be borrowed at six, or not at all? In the course of his argument the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated the legal interest as in some degree connected with a measure from which he had so deservedly derived great honour, the reduction of interest on the national debt; but he begged leave to say, that they had no manner of dependance on each other: This appeared in the conduct of that able minister, Mr. Pelham, who though he reduced the interest of the national debt from five to three per cent. thought it unwise to attempt a reduction of the rate of private interest.

From the general murmur of approbation with which the Chancellor's statement had been received, it appeared to him as if gentlemen thought themselves bound to give six per cent. for all money now borrowed; but it was no such thing, they might get it as much lower as they could.

Mr. MASON said he rose to order. This was not the time for debating the bill; the principle being admitted, it of course went to the committee, where its different clauses might be fully investigated.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then moved for several papers relative to the imports and exports, and tonnage of shipping belonging to Ireland, all which were ordered, and the second reading of the bill was fixed for Wednesday.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee on the linen bill.

Mr. BERESFORD desired that the Clerk might read the first paragraph of the bill, [which directs the bounty formerly paid on the importation of foreign flaxseed, to be applied in premiums on raising flaxseed in Ireland.] He said, he always felt himself extremely embarrassed when he differed in sentiment with a right hon. gentleman, [the Speaker] for whose opinion the whole nation entertained so much respect, but, as when last the question now to be proposed was agitated, the majority against it was extremely small, he hoped it would not be deemed presumption in him if he again brought it into discussion.

The right hon. gentleman who sat near him [the Secretary of State] had upon the former occasion so fully explained the business, that a very few words would now suffice. The intention of his motion, he said, was to secure some part of the funds of the Linen-board, to be applicable to the encouragement of the linen manufacture in those provinces where at present it does not flourish; for that purpose, his motion should desire that the sum of 7250l. granted by this bill for the encouragement of the growth of flaxseed, may be apportioned into four shares, applicable to the four provinces of the kingdom; against this, very plausible arguments had already been offered, which he would now truly state, and add some observations on them.

It was stated that no alteration ought to be made in this bill, because that since 1780, when the bounty was by it taken away from flax-seed imported, and given in premiums on the growth of flax-seed at home, the linen manufacture has very much increased; that the export of linen has risen from below twenty millions of yards to above thirty millions; that the average export for seven years before the act was twenty millions, and that it has since been above twenty-five millions; it was indeed argued in express words, that the premiums were the cause of this increased exportation, and indeed if the argument did not prove that, it proved nothing to strengthen this argument; further it had been added, that on an average of five years previous to the act, the annual importation of flax-seed had been thirty-four thousand, that the average of five years since that period was thirty-nine thousand

hogheads; whereas had the increased import of seed borne proportion to the increased export of linen, it would have been forty-two thousand hogheads; the decrease was attributed to the growth of Irish flax-seed.

It was, he said, further agreed, that this law is impartial, that it offers premiums for raising flaxseed in every part of the kingdom, and that a sum is apportioned to each county.

Now to begin with the last. It is very true that dividing the sum into thirty-two parts, and directing that each county should have a right to claim one, has the appearance of fairness and impartiality, though in fact it is the very reverse, and calculated to throw the greater part of this fund into Ulster.

If the bounty on the growth of flax-seed was sufficient to pay with profit for the seed, then indeed the premium would be equal in all parts; but will any man say, that a farmer in Munster has the same inducements to grow flax-seed as one in Ulster, where the manufacture is so far advanced? What is the farmer to do with his flax or his flax-seed when it is grown? Where is his market? A farmer, for instance, in Tipperary, how is he to dispose of his flax or flax-seed? Is he to send it by land carriage or by sea to market? Is the same premium held out to him and to the farmer in Armagh? Is it a fair impartial premium? It is not, and the consequence is, that the greatest part of these premiums, nay almost the whole, is attracted to the place where the manufacture is fully established.

To encourage the beginning of manufactures, other premiums are necessary; linen cannot be made without flax, flax cannot be raised without seed; dressers, spinners, and weavers must be encouraged, and markets for every species of their productions must be established; it seems then fair to allow some proportion of the funds to each province, to be applied to such encouragement.

But it is said, why touch this sacred fund allotted for the growth of flax-seed, and which has done such wonders for the linen manufacture?

I answer, because each province can apply their proportion of it to better purposes; and because that I will not allow that the prosperity of the linen manufacture is owing to the present application of this fund; and because I think it is, though not intended, a partial distribution of it; and because the other funds of the board are appropriated or dispersed otherwise.

The statement, by which it appears that the average exportation of linen rose from 20 to 25 millions of yards, and that at the same time, the importation of flax-seed did but increase from 34,000 to 39,000 hogheads, would at first view appear to prove that the premiums have had this effect: but let us examine the fact: The former exportation of linen was 20 million yards, the present exportation is 25 millions, the increase is one-fourth.

The former import of seed was	-	34,000	hhd.
The present is	-	39,000	
To the first rate of import, add one-fourth of 34,	-	8,000	

And the import would now be 42,000
the saving then is 3000 hogheads; which, by this state, is the quantity grown in Ireland more than before the premium—the law has subsisted seven years, consequently 21,000 hogheads have been saved to the country.

The yearly fund applicable to this bounty is, £. 9899

Which for seven years is, £. 69293

so that to save the importation of 20,000 hogheads of flax-seed, the nation has paid near 70,000l.

Again, the consumption of flax-seed in seven years would be at 42,000 hogheads per ann. 294,000 hogheads, of which we grow 21,000, or about the fourteenth part, and for which we pay 69,293l.—How then does this serve the manufacture? It was said that in time of war, and in severe seasons, it may be of use, but what would become of the manufacture depending on one-fourth part of its premium? It was also said, that Irish flax is stronger and more beautiful than foreign; but what avails this, when we can but have but one-fourteenth of our consumption supplied at home?

The whole fund of the Linen Board is,	£. 22,700
Of which is appropriated to flax-seed,	£. 9,899
To ashes,	4000
To three provinces,	2000
To building in Dublin,	5000
Salaries and rents,	4033
Law expences,	2954
Altogether,	£. 27886

Exceeding, 5,186

All which expences are permanent except the building, and even deducting that, the fund is exhausted; there being therefore no other fund but that appropriated to the growth of flax-seed which can properly be applied to that purpose, and being of opinion, that that is at present unfairly applied, I wish to appropriate one-fourth part of it to each province.

He then took notice of the sum applied to promote the manufacture of ashes, which sum was very considerable, and yet the importation of that commodity continued to increase. Having stated this, he said he avowed his intention fairly, which was to get some portion of the money given by the public to promote the linen manufacture, appropriated to Munster.

Mr. BROWNLOW said it would not be necessary for him to trouble the House with many words, if some gentlemen were not

now present who had not attended in the committee on this bill, or the principal advocate and supporter of the linen manufacture of Ireland, was not now in a situation in which he could not exert his accustomed zeal and great abilities in its behalf, [*alluding to the Speaker, who, from his situation in the chair, could not enter into debate.*].—Every one knows that if the primum of a manufacture is injured, the manufacture itself must suffer; and therefore gentlemen should be extremely cautious of disturbing the regulations under which our linen trade has risen so rapidly; that it is wise to encourage our home seed, and that it thrives under such encouragement, is apparent in Leinster, Connaught and Ulster. The people of Munster have not entered into this species of tillage, perhaps deterred by the exorbitant tithes of flax exacted from them; in Ulster there is a modus, six-pence for each sowing of flax—in Munster they pay by the acre. This must make a considerable difference.

It was said by the right hon. gentleman, that Munster had no market for flax-seed, because she had no linen manufacture; why then bestow any part of the premium where there is no manufacture?

There seems an unbecoming degree of jealousy, that the provinces which fairly earn this premium should receive it; yet we of Ulster were never jealous of the bounties paid on woollens, on corn, or fisheries, though we do not participate in them. We consider the general interest, and are happy to see measures taken to promote the good of the whole nation. I would wish other gentlemen to adopt these principles, and not make experiments upon a trade that is going on extremely well.

Captain BURGHE said he was not surprized to hear a motion come before the House for a more equal distribution of bounties, but he was surprized indeed to find it come from the wrong quarter of the kingdom. Had the North complained, it would have been justifiable, because ever since the year 1759, there have been paid out of the revenues at large, bounties upon the inland carriage of corn, which amounted in one year to upwards of 70,000*l.* The North had full notice of this bounty, but yet they did not complain. Since that time an export bounty on corn has been added, which has amounted to 50,000*l.* a year; and again, 17,000*l.* on certain manufactures, of which the province of Ulster entertains none. Has the province of Ulster expressed a jealousy? Have they come forward to Parliament to desire you to injure others? No; their language is very different, much more honourable; they despise such little measures. Their conduct is very singular, very singular indeed in this country! You seldom hear from them by way of petition, and when you do, it is to tax themselves. That was the case above thirty years ago, when they applied for the Lagan tax in the manor of Hillsborough,

which they raised and expended within themselves. And again, they have applied to tax the tonnage of shipping in Newry, and seemingly despise your navigation supplies. They ask leave to raise money for themselves, and to lay it out on their local works. It is not so with others. It would be a happy thing for this country and for Government it was so. The anticipation of the revenue was an enormous robber of the Crown. The province of Ulster, on the principle affected to be laid down, was as well entitled to 30,000*l.* a year provincial dividend, as Munster was to 1800*l.* dividend, because 30,000*l.* would be the fourth of what was paid on corn, of which, as a province, they were so circumstanced that they demanded no share of it. He recommended that the hon. gentleman should add to his motion, and resolve that the province of Ulster shall not be allowed to bring this resolution into precedent. It might operate twenty to one against his intention, for surely no gentleman who votes for this motion can possibly deny equal justice to the province of Ulster.

Mr. CORRY said he was very unwilling to ask the attention of the House, but the subject was of much importance. The question was on a change of the system of the linen bounties. Some years ago the annual grant for the encouragement of the home-growth of flax and flax-seed had been made, and the resolution of every session confined the sum of 7,250*l.* to that purpose alone.—The question now proposed is, that you should alter that system, and change the appropriation, by dividing it into four parts, suffering Munster to apply one-fourth to any purposes that might be thought fit. The chief arguments used in support of this plan were, that Munster did not receive a sufficient proportion of the fund granted, and that Ulster received an undue portion under the plan which the Linen Board pursued in the premiums offered. The reverse he conceived would prove to be the fact.

The fund is first divided in equal sums to every county. In Ulster, where there is a great deal of flax grown, the claimants are all obliged to abate considerably of their claims, as there the fund is insufficient to pay the premiums proposed. In Munster, where not so much flax is grown, the claims do not amount to the fund for paying them in the several counties, and there the claimants receive the full amount of the premiums proposed by the board, so that a flax-grower receives already much more in Munster than in Ulster; besides the premiums proposed rise in a considerable proportion, as the quantity of crop is increased. None is offered for a less quantity than an acre; an acre gets 20*s.*—but the premium on a greater number of acres rises to 3*l.* per acre. Now Ulster grows her flax mostly in quantities under an acre, and never in the great number of acres which Munster does, and therefore those in Munster have another advantage.

In other schemes of the Linen Board, how does Ulster stand in comparison?—He then stated the premiums received, in different papers which he read; the returns of the Linen Board, the bounties paid on the export of printed linens, no part of which was received by Ulster—the bounty on home-made sail-cloth, no part of which was received by Ulster—the bounty on your warehouses, no part of which was received by Ulster—the bounty on home-made linseed oil, no part of which was received by Ulster—the bounty on sending flax-seed from the South to the North, no part of which was received by Ulster. If Munster manufactures her flax, as her cloths are coarser, and takes therefore more materials, she has much more flax premium on a yard of cloth, than there is on a yard of cloth in Ulster—she has besides the premium on sail-cloth; if she spins, she has premiums in the plan of yarn ware-houses—if she presses her linseed she has premiums for oil, and lastly if she will not have the industry to do any thing else but send her flax-seed to Ulster, she has a premium of not less than 14s. per hoghead—and yet Munster complains of partiality and want of protection from the Linen Board.

The right honourable gentleman [Mr. Beresford] has stated, that though there were 4000*l.* applied for home making of ashes, yet the import had increased. Ashes was not the question before the House, and therefore he would only remark on that fact, that it was an additional proof of the increase of the linen manufacture, and proved that the home consumption must have increased as well as the export, from the proportion that he stated of the increase of ashes imported, to the increase of the linen exported; and that consideration was an additional testimony in favour of the success of the system that had been pursued, and that was now arraigned by the right honourable gentleman himself. He had also stated, that 69,000*l.* had been expended since the sum in question was first given for home flax-seed. To whom had that sum been given? Was it to America or Holland? It was perhaps the wisest possible expenditure of the sum, for reasons of sound policy.

The bounties had been talked of for argument, as if the design of Parliament had been for them to raise every county in Ireland to a level in the linen manufacture. Nothing, he said, was as impracticable as to reduce the surface of your land to the same level; besides Parliament never could have been stupid and ignorant enough to have thought of effecting such a work with such an engine as 7250*l.*—the principle was to aid the manufacture, not to raise particular counties, and the bounty ought to be allowed to flow evenly, and to settle wherever the manufacture attracted it.

Ought you, said he, when you have got a West India trade, and a trade to France, to risk disturbing the flourishing state and progress of your manufacture in any part of the kingdom? But as to the change proposed, had any plan been offered to the House

in lieu of the old system? Not a line on paper, nor any specific proposal even in argument. Indeed the system for the province of Munster, which the House had this session seen offered, was rather singular to have proposed. One day a bill of pains, of penalties, to correct their idleness and riot, and enforce the payment of their tithes.

The SECRETARY OF STATE interrupted Mr. Corry.

Mr. CORRY said he looked upon that bill as a bill of pains and penalties, against the riotous poor of Munster—Another day you are intreated to put down your fisheries, in order to feed the poor of Munster—On this day you are invited to invade your linen manufacture, in order to employ the poor of Munster. The unreasonableness of the two proposals put him in mind of the lover's prayers, in the height of his affection for his mistress—

*To Gods, annihilate but space and time,
And make two lovers happy—*

*Destroy your fishery and linen trade,
And make poor Munster happy.*

He concluded with saying, he thought it wiser to abide by the experimental success of the plan pursued by Parliament hitherto, than to trust to the wisdom of any right honourable gentleman's speculations in embryo.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1788.

Mr. HOLMES presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons; which was received and read the first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented to the House, according to order, a bill for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the Dublin Society, for the purposes therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of John Staples and James Caulfield, Esqrs. was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners having now completely finished a steam engine at Dromglass colliery in the county of Tyrone, at an expence of 2000*l.* over and above the sum granted by Parliament for said purpose; and having opened said colliery in such a manner that they are ready to deliver any quantity of coals that can be demanded, they humbly beg leave to represent to the House that as the present mode of conveyance from the colliery to the head of the navigation is extremely difficult and expensive, the public must be deprived of the benefit which might arise from the present state of the colliery

unless a water or waggon-way shall be made for conveying the coals to the head of the navigation; that the petitioners having expended very considerable sums upon the said colliery, find themselves unable to make such water or waggon-way at their own expence, and praying the House to grant them 2000*l.* out of the navigation funds, for which they conceive the same may be executed.

A petition of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, and liberties thereof, paying taxes, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that by an act of Parliament passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain statutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin, the several acts heretofore made for the appointment and support of a nightly watch through the several parishes of this city and the liberties thereof are repealed, and an establishment, called a police, under the direction and controul of a few magistrates, has been adopted in the room of the nightly watch, with certain powers in the said act expressed; that the taxes now levied upon the inhabitants of this city, under and in consequence of said act, for the support of such establishment, appear to the petitioners to be treble the amount of the former taxes levied for support of the parish watches; that the petitioners being loaded with such weight of taxes, might reasonably have expected they would have reaped benefits equivalent thereto, by the preservation of peace and good order in this city; but the petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to the House, that instead thereof they have found from experience that the security of the persons, habitations and properties of the inhabitants has been rendered more precarious and uncertain since the establishment of such police than before; that the crimes and immoralities to which this city was before subject are rather encreased than diminished; and therefore the petitioners are convinced that such establishment has by no means answered the good intention of the legislature, but on the contrary has been injurious to the civil rights and properties of the inhabitants of this city, and to the magistracy thereof; that the petitioners, from the several circumstances and facts before stated, humbly beg leave to represent that no guard whatever, independent of, and not under the controul of the parishioners of the respective parishes, can possibly afford sufficient or satisfactory security to the persons and properties of the citizens of Dublin; that an act of Parliament was passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his present Majesty,

entitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin; and the petitioners are humbly of opinion that a law founded upon the principles of the said act, as to a wardmote, would afford a constitutional guard for this city, effectual for the protection of the inhabitants, at half the expence of the present police establishment; and therefore praying to be heard by counsel in support of the allegations of their petition, and for relief.

Mr. HARTLEY moved that the petitioners be heard at the bar by their counsel. He said he hoped the House would think that persons thus humbly supplicating the justice of the House, and against whom no riotous or seditious practices could be charged, might be deemed deserving of that indulgence. The petition, he said, was signed by seven thousand house-keepers.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he should be extremely sorry that there were seven thousand seditious persons existing in the kingdom any where but on paper; however, without meaning to say any thing unkind or disrespectful of the petitioners, whose chairman, however, could not be perfectly disinterested, being a rope-maker, he would ask the honourable gentleman what more they could desire than that which the House was actually engaged in doing? It was admitted by all that the Police-act wanted amendment: A bill was now brought in to explain and amend that act. Did the petitioners mean to petition against the bill for amending the act of which they so much complained?

Mr. HARTLEY said he could see no mode by which the petitioners could possibly obtain redress, if they were not allowed to explain their grievances by counsel.

Mr. MASON said that supposing the names affixed to the petition were names of persons actually existing, and housekeepers, as the petition set forth, yet it was easy to account for their number. A few discontented persons first set the business afloat, and in the parish where he lived they sent about advertisements, calling on all discontented persons like themselves to sign the petition; many signed it in hopes of getting rid of the tax, many more in hopes of getting rid of the restraint; but there had been at least in his parish no meeting wherein the advantages of a well regulated police had been fairly weighed and examined. To this he added, that in his opinion the petitioners could not be heard by their counsel against the bill, it being the rule of the House never to hear counsel against a tax.

Mr. HARTLEY said that meetings had been held in the several parishes, advertisements had been issued, and every means taken to collect the sense of the people.

Mr. STEWART said the observation of the right honourable gentleman, that counsel could not be heard against a tax was, in his opinion, unfounded; he had, indeed often heard it asserted that petitions against taxes were not to be received, but that objection would now come too late; the petition had been received, and the hearing of counsel naturally followed.

Mr. BERESFORD.—The honourable gentleman has said that advertisements were issued, and every means taken to collect the sense of the people; he says also, that the petition is subscribed by seven thousand house-keepers. Now, supposing, what I am sure the honourable gentleman believes to be the case, that these are the names of persons really and *bona fide* house-keepers, yet even so, they are very far from being a majority of the house-keepers of Dublin; indeed but a small part of them. But my opinion is very different. I have heard the names of some of those persons read; perhaps they are very respectable, however I do not know one of them, and am apt to think a great part of the list consists of persons who are interested in our having no police at all.

The question being put that the petitioners be heard at the bar by counsel, in support of the allegations of their petition, it passed in the negative without a division.

The Police-bill was then read a second time.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD rose to state the particular regulations it contained. He said he agreed with the petitioners that the number of men at present employed by the police is totally insufficient to guard this extensive metropolis, and he entertained great doubts whether the addition intended by Government would be found equal to the task. It was, he said, the intension of Government to add to the present establishment one hundred men; these were to be watchmen by day, at lower pay than that which is given to the night guards; and the intension was, that by this relief the poor men who at present are harrassed almost to death, being on duty day and night, might have an opportunity of getting a little sleep by day.

It was further proposed to reduce the forty petty constables, who are the horsemen of the police, to twenty; this would make a considerable saving in the expence of horses. The pay also of the horsemen was to be reduced from 30 to 20*l.* a year. The saving upon the whole would go a good way towards the support of the additional hundred. It was further intended to appoint eight inspectors to keep the men to their duty, and a person who should once in every month muster and review them in the presence of the lord mayor, sheriffs, and other city magistrates who were not of the police, or such of them as should think proper to attend.

There were some other regulations, such as obliging hawkers of trees and old clothes, and other things, who formerly took out licenses from the commissioners of the revenue, but which licenses were more an object of police, to prevent theft and fraud, than of revenue, now to take their licenses from the commissioners of police; also to oblige all persons retailing spirits in the city, or within five miles thereof, to take out licenses from the police—a regulation which he feared would be more offensive to the petitioners than any other; but upon the whole there was to be no new rate or tax laid upon the city.

Goldsmiths were to be exempted from the necessity of taking out a police license—in the first act they were included, by mistake.

Mr. GARDINER said he was extremely anxious for the establishment of a good police, and perfectly a friend to the intention of the bill, but he wished to inspect the accounts of the police, to see if it were possible to exempt the Liberties from the tax, or even reduce it, the people being so extremely indigent that they were unable to pay it.

He then moved, “that the proper officer do lay before the House an account of all the receipts of the commissioners of the police since their institution, and also of their expenditure, distinguishing the particulars.”

Mr. HARTLEY moved, that the Police-bill be committed for Saturday next.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD said that the circuits would be begun by that time, and many of the lawyers would be gone out of town. He had fully explained the intended alteration; every gentleman admitted the advantage and necessity of a well regulated police; he could therefore see no use in postponing the commitment of the bill.

The question being put on Mr. Hartley’s motion, that the bill be committed for Saturday, it was negatived.

Mr. HARTLEY then moved, that the bill be committed for Friday, which motion was likewise negatived.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD then moved, that the bill be committed for Tuesday, which passed in the affirmative.

The House then resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill “to enable all ecclesiastical persons and bodies, rectors, vicars, curates, and impropriators, to recover a just compensation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1787, in the several counties and counties of cities therein mentioned, and to explain and amend the act of last session for the same purposes,” Mr. Mason in the chair.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) said if the right honourable gentleman [the Secretary of State] who introduced the bill, would permit him to request some explanation of it, particularly in what it differed from the bill of last session, he would take it as a great favour.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he was extremely ready to explain the bill. The principle was precisely the same with that of the act of last year, and it differed very little in its regulations. Doubts had arisen, whether under the act of last year the clergy could recover compensation within counties of cities lying within the counties at large, in the act described. In his opinion they could; but to put it out of question, the present bill particularises such counties of cities. There were besides some new clauses with respect to serving of notices; but whatever was new he would remark as the committee should proceed through the bill.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN desired to know whether there were not some clauses which gave the claims of the clergy for tithe a preference over the right of the landlord to his rent?

The SECRETARY OF STATE replied, there was such a clause, which was intended to operate against a class of people called middlemen, whose extortions had distressed the people of Munster, and whose instigations had driven them into insurrection. It is a maxim with those men never to set a lease, but to let out the ground to the poor people from year to year, and if, by any means, they can defraud the clergy, or cause their miserable tenants to defraud them, they then immediately raise their rents in proportion; so that were tithes to be abolished, and the clergy paid in any other manner, it would only operate for the benefit of those middlemen. Against this class then was it intended that the preference alluded to should operate, for if the clergyman had not some such preference the bill would be of little use. Suppose a clergyman to seize for five shillings, the cottager would be willing enough to pay it, did not the malignity of the middleman interfere, who, to prevent the clergyman having his just right, seizes for 5*l.* and thus the wretched cottager is ruined.

Mr. WILLIAM BRABAZON PONSONBY said he thought that in protecting the clergy great care ought to be taken not to injure the constitution. He could not see why the trial by jury should be abolished in their particular case. He did not wish to prevent the clergy from recovering their right—he wished to aid them; but he would not have even a right recovered by oppression; the offence of combination ought to be proved, not taken for granted; and when it should appear that any oppressive or vexatious suit was instituted, the litigious person should be punished by exemplary costs.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said that having been called upon, he would, in a few words more, continue to explain the principle of the bill before the committee, which he trusted would be found so just as to give general satisfaction. The principle was precisely the same as that of the bill of last session—to give the clergy a fair value for their tithes, upon an average, (after all deductions) of the three years immediately preceding the disturbances.—It was not his intention, nor could a court under the bill decree any illegal charge of turf, or any other article not fairly tithable; it created no new right to the clergy, but gave a new and summary remedy to recover their old rights; this it did at the smallest possible expence, as well for the ease of the farmer as those persons who were entitled to tithe.

A vast deal had been said upon the subject of exorbitant tithes. He knew the honour and integrity of the right honourable gentleman who had brought forward that subject too well not to be certain that he was convinced of the truth of every thing he had laid before the House, or it never would have fallen from him; but the right honourable gentleman had been deceived, for upon an average of the tithes of the several dioceses of Munster, they bore no proportion to the right honourable gentleman's statement. Those tithes he would state; and at the same time assure the honourable gentleman, that for thirty years they had not been raised. He then went through the average rates of a great number of dioceses, beginning with Cork and Ross, where they stand thus by the English acre:

Wheat	-	4s. 6d.	Oats	-	2s. 3d.
Potatoes	-	6 7	Meadow	-	1 6
Barley	-	4 3	Flax	-	6 1

Those charges he contrasted with the charges in England, where almost every article produced upon a farm is highly tithed; and having shewn the advantage in favour of the Irish farmer, he said he wished to impress upon the House the justice and necessity of maintaining the rights of the clergy, whom he considered as an amiable and innocent class of men, liberal, humane and charitable, but persecuted and oppressed; like the primitive Christians under Nero, driven from their habitations and hunted as savage beasts.

Mr. BUSHE.—I highly approve the principle of the bill. Nothing can be more reasonable or fair than that innocent men should not suffer by the seditious, or that turbulent men should not benefit by their own violence; I shall therefore not object to the bill's operating as to the county of Kilkenny for another year, though in my opinion it is far from being necessary there at this day. Sir, I think it incumbent upon me to say, that there is no part of England or Ireland in a more perfect state of tranquillity than the county of Kilkenny now is, nay, even at the worst of

times a great part of that county was free from disturbance; even then, men who paid 10s. an acre tithe of wheat took their firelocks upon their shoulders, and marched out to repel the insurgents; they were not however insensible of the exorbitance of such a tithe; they disliked the exaction, but they abhorred insurrection. They complained, indeed, that they were obliged to pay too much to a clergyman whom they never saw; but at the same time they armed in defence of the public peace, and were the only people who, unsupported by a military force, accepted the challenge of the Whiteboys, and drew out to meet them. I do not therefore think it perfectly just that the county of Kilkenny should be included in this bill; however, as it is but for one year, I shall make no objection, but I think it should lie upon the clergyman to shew that any bargain he may complain of was involuntary; for it cannot be equitable, surely, when bargains are freely made, that their permanence should depend on the caprice of one of the parties.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I believe the House will excuse me if I trouble them with some observations on what has fallen from the right honourable gentleman. To whatever he asserts of his own knowledge I give the most unbounded confidence; but to what he has received from others, I cannot pay the same regard; that at best stands only on the same ground with the informations I have received, and which I have stated to the House. Thus we have information against information, assertion against assertion—I honour and applaud the right honourable gentleman for the part he has taken in this business; it is what I expected from him; but I cannot therefore give up my own judgment, or shut my eyes to the facts that I have stated. The right honourable gentleman has stated the general average rates of several dioceses—I have stated the particular rates exacted in the disturbed parishes—the House is to judge of the subject; and this every difference between the statement of the right honourable gentleman and mine, proves the necessity of going into the committee, where no member's report of the matter should be taken, but where papers may be called for, and every fact verified upon the oaths of credible witnesses.

The right honourable gentleman has stated, that he has had informations from the best authority, from the bishops themselves, and he states an average. Now an average may be reasonable, and in particular cases very unreasonable; the moderation of one man may be set off against the rapacity of another, and in general accounts cover his exaction:—this is rewarding avarice and punishing Christian liberality. I have not therefore gone upon a general average, but on the exactions practised in particular parishes. The right honourable gentleman has stated, that tithes have not been raised in their value for the last twenty or thirty years in the dioceses of Cork and Ross. Now upon this point

also I am ready to join issue with him, and if I do not shew that in some of the most moderate parishes they have risen from four and five shillings, for wheat and potatoes, to seven and eight shillings within the last thirty years, I will give up the question for ever. I desire the right honourable gentleman to meet me, and rest it on that single point.

The right honourable gentleman has stated to you an average of the tithes of Cloyne. Sir, I am ready to shew you a parish in that diocese where wheat pays 16s.—potatoes 16s.—barley 9s. 9d.—oats 8s.—and meadow 6s. 6d.—This, Sir, will be proved on the affidavits of the men who pay it, and supported by their receipts. This, Sir, is the return of the officer who tried the suits in Cork; and these are English acres. If then there be any thing like moderation in the average tithe of that diocese, how very low indeed must the charge of some parsons be to admit of this exorbitance! It must appear that in some parishes the parson extorts unreasonable tithes, in others he loses his right; and therefore the necessity of an enquiry.

The right honourable gentleman has adduced an example from England, to prove the moderation of the charge for tithes in Ireland, but the fact is, that England pays much less in tithes upon the whole, though an opulent country, than Ireland pays, poor as she is. I have the very best authority for saying, that the rate of tithes in the county of Chester is eight shillings an acre less than the rate of the diocese of Cloyne, whilst the husbandry of the county of Chester is eight shillings better; how then stands the proportion of the tithes of England to the wealth of England, and how stands the proportion of the tithes in Ireland to the wealth of Ireland?

Sir, I understand that in a great number of cases, the tithes have been fairly set out in the fields, and due notice given by the farmers: I understand these tithes are now perishing and rotting, because the parson will not draw them. If this be the case, would you give the parson a power to compel farmers to pay for those tithes which have perished through the parson's obstinacy? would you let him tax the farmers double in a tax already exorbitant? would you let the farmer first lose his grain and after his money? Sir, there are some cases which I mentioned the other night, in which the farmer actually offered to leave the tithes in the parsons barn; will you punish the persons who made such an offer?

I do not like the principle of depriving the farmer of his trial by jury, and giving the parson a rapid and powerful remedy against beggars; it may force emigrants, and certainly will make the parson odious to the parish. Are the people solvent? Can the parson do any thing more than send them to gaol? I declare for once, that I would rather pay the clergyman his loss out of the public coffer, and regulate the future, than again revive the miseries of the people.

Here Mr. Grattan stated a number of cases of the utmost exorbitancy in rating tithe, particularly some decreed in the court of Cashel, where four acres and a half of potatoes were charged 5l. 6s. 3d. and the charge decreed with about a guinea costs; two acres and a half of flax, the prime of our staple manufacture, for the raising which the state gives bounties yearly, 3l. 4s. ten acres of meadow 6l. 16s.—These charges were decreed, as was 2l. 16s. 6d. for one acre of potatoes, it having been sworn in court that the said acre produced 60 barrels of potatoes, valued at 9s. 9d. the barrel; this in the year 1783, the famine price, but the calculation of abundance.

If these facts, he said, could be explained, he was sure they could not be justified. The Whiteboys were certainly outrageous, but though he condemned their meetings, he would not countenance extortion; he would hang them if rebellious, but he would not rob them.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he could fully refute the allegations concerning exorbitant tithes. He said that in the particular instance stated to have been decreed in the court of Cashel, that the person proving the value of the tithes was obliged, upon his oath, to state the just value; that the court, in like manner, was bound to decree the same, but that the person to whom they were decreed would very willingly have taken one-third of the value.

He said he trusted that the whole tenor of his life had manifested the high veneration and respect in which he held that sacred pillar of the constitution, the trial by jury; but that mode of trial was inapplicable to the present case, where perhaps there might be ready for trial in one day five hundred cases, several of them perhaps not amounting to more than a few shillings.

As to proving the combinations in a country where all were combinators, the thing was impossible; who, at the certain loss of life and property, would venture to appear as an approver? The law therefore supposes the combination, and not without sufficient evidence; for if no combination or disturbance has existed, why was an army and a train of artillery sent down to Munster to establish the public peace, and protect the persons and properties of innocent and worthy men?

Mr. SECRETARY HAMILTON said however justly the exactions of intermediate landlords, and the pressure of high rack rents, might be assigned as causes of the disturbances, in his opinion it was plain that the conduct of the clergy had been dignified by forbearance and moderation—but what return had they met? Men of the most amiable characters beset in their Houses at night by armed ruffians, driven out naked under the inclemency of the weather, and forced to wander in melancholy exile, not daring to return to their habitations. Surely if compassion was

any where due, it was to those oppressed men; the humanity of the House was called upon to protect them, and its justice to vindicate the insulted laws of the country.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) said the objections to a Compensation-bill must be either, that the clergy did not want it, or that they did not deserve it—As to the first, the violence and silent combination which still existed in the South (which had effectually deprived the clergy of Munster of their incomes last year, and reduced them to the greatest distress) were notorious to every one—As to the latter, viz. their deserts, much had been said on a former occasion, which he hoped it was allowable to answer now, as this was, in fact, a continuation of the former debate, as far as the conduct of the clergy was concerned.

He said the statement made of the rates demanded for tithes in Munster was, to his knowledge, as to a great part of the province, founded on misinformation. He spoke confidently, as being acquainted in one great diocese with much the greater part of the beneficed clergy, and knowing their situation and conduct; and in another large diocese he was one of those dreadful monsters that had been described, who eat up whole villages at a time—a Vicar General—he had besides been employed as counsel in most of the compensation suits brought under this act in the county Cork, and therefore must know the ratage of tithe tolerably well; and he did aver, that the highest rate ever demanded by a clergyman in that part of the world, for the tithe of the best crop, was much below the rates returned to the right honourable gentleman. He spoke of the usual demand of clergymen in general, not denying but there might have been some particular instances, such as stated on a former night; but surely a fair conclusion could only be deduced from the general usage, and not from a particular instance; and even in that particular case what extortion was there to be found? 16s. per acre was said to have been charged for potatoes, *i. e.* per the plantation acre; 16s. for wheat per ditto; 8s. for oats the plantation acre; 9s. for barley the plantation acre, and so on. These must have been crops of the best kind, and every one knows a very good crop is moderately estimated from 15l. to 20l. the plantation acre of potatoes—a very good plantation acre of wheat may be worth 12l.—of barley 8l.—of oats 5l.—these are certainly good crops; but probably where the tithe was so high the crops were very extraordinary, and worth more than above stated, or perhaps the obstinate subtraction of the tithe had driven the parson to his suit, where the court was obliged to decree the real value, which was Mrs. Strang's case, and the clergyman afterwards forgave her two-thirds; so that in these cases the tithe charged was nothing like the real value, But the ordinary case was this: the clergyman had three prices,

according to the value of the crop, and these were usually at the following rate, reckoning by the English acre.

	best crop.	middling.	worst.
Potatoes,	8 or 9s.	7 or 6s.	5 or 4s.
Wheat,	6s.	5s.	4s. or less.
Barley,	5s.	4s.	3s. or under.
Oats,	3s.	2s.	1s. 6d.
Meadow,	3s.	1s. 6d.	1s.

These were the most common rates in the dioceses of Cork and Cloyne; and he appealed to the gentlemen in the House, whether the usual rates in the country about them, exceeded those specified? From fifty cases returned by the compensation referee, one, perhaps, had been culled which contradicted this statement, and that was with great industry culled out as if it proved a system.

Much had been said of the state of the peasantry. He begged leave to say something of the state of the clergy. Robbed of agistment, by affidavit, the very way lately proposed to try their merits, and by which, conscious as he was of their innocence, he should not be at all surprised if the activity and perjury of their enemies had made them appear guilty, if a committee had taken place—robbed of agistment, deprived of their small dues, driven in most parts of Ireland to relinquish many species of tithe, to which by law they were entitled, they retired almost within the confines of the tillage field—there, they knew too well the temper of the times and the decay of religion to insist on their rights, as well as the difficulty of drawing. They were content, on an average, with a fourth-part of their legal claim. They had not increased their rates for thirty years. He spoke from knowledge, having in many cases seen the books of their predecessors; as to theirs, the rates were generally diminished. In this state of things, in a season of the greatest plenty, an outcry arose—the people refused to give more than half the payment accustomed for many years.—No famine, no additional demand, yet nothing was to be given but White-boy prices. The distressed parson sometimes was driven to accept, then they would give him nothing at all. This shewed their aim was not at reduction, but at abolition; the clergyman was not to employ a proctor, but to take the tithe according to the valuation of the landholder; if he did, the proctor was bribed or intimidated. He was then driven to farm his tithe at a very great loss to himself; this too was imputed to him a crime. It had been said, a parish which paid a tithe-farmer 800l. a year, did most gladly agree to pay the parson 600l. per annum. It was therefore evident that nothing but the fraud of the parishioners, could have driven him to lease his tithe. If they sued in the spiritual court for subtraction, it was objected that the proctor was no accurate judge of value or quantity; though every man acquainted with tillage can easily estimate with

his eye, and walking over the ground, that the charges were always too low to make any mistake dangerous. If he sent a person to survey, he would be accused of avarice, and the gentlemen of the country would not endure the presumption, as they would call it.

He said the clergy had lately endured many sufferings; and in many instances they were reduced to a fourth of their old incomes, and sought to exchange at any loss, and found themselves and families in the greatest distress by debts they had incurred on the prospect of their usual incomes. Such men, he said, knew he compared the kindness professed to them by their opponents, to the speech of the executioners to Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, when they went to strangle him. "We assure your Royal Highness it will be very much for your good."

It had been said some persons gave fair notice to draw, and offered to draw the tithe home themselves. On the face of it, it must be a trick, for it never could be any man's advantage to give the tithe in kind, as no one pretended to say the parson ever demanded the full value; very high prices of tithe had been stated, but it was not said they were above the real value in these particular cases. But suppose they were drawn home, that he would not lose in the carriage, must depend on the good faith of the payer of tithe. Who would thrash, stack it, &c. not a man in the country—all sworn. If one or two men gave notice to draw, it would be hard to deprive them of their legal remedy, but if a whole parish did it, it was evidently a combination, and ought to be treated as such.

He said the Ecclesiastical Courts were said to be party courts; would the law courts be less so? Had the clergy much reason to expect justice from juries composed of the payers of tithe, if we may judge from the persecution raised against them of late? The costs in Ecclesiastical Courts were talked of; they never could exceed 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* often were less, according to the circumstances of the case. The clergy were accused of oppression: Was there any benefit of clergy which screened them from the weight of damages? Did not the total dereliction of legal remedy and the recourse to open violence prove their innocence more than a thousand facts? I wish to Heaven, said he, that gentlemen had seen as much as I have of the state of these fancied oppressors, labouring through life, with little to enjoy and nothing to spare, at length arrived at something like competency to support extensive families; if they had seen them as I have done, with ruined hopes and broken hearts, despondency sitting amidst the blasted comforts of declining life. Is all your pity confined to the peasant. Suspected pity! whose handmaid is interest, and which extends not to your brothers—your friends—your immediate blood—they call not only on your pity, but on your faith. They embraced a profession on the public faith—plighted by you—

plighted by the constitution—plighted by the Monarch's oath. You enticed them to purchase education, and with it keener sensibility, nicer feeling of mental pain, aspiring thoughts, and elegant desires, which now but serve to sharpen the stings of disappointment. They call on you to fulfil the hopes with which you taught them to inspire their children, and to rescue them from violence, from pettifogging tricks, from calumny and malediction. These are their evils in old age, when the spring of action is gone down, and they expected ease and comfort to glad their declining day; like the wearied mariner coming into port, and finding the enemy's flag waving on the battlements.

He said the real cause of oppression was the land-jobber or middleman; he having racked the tenant to the utmost, knew not how to encrease his rent but by robbing the parson. He teaches the foolish peasant to curse the parson for the weight of his spade and the scantiness of his meat, though he has only to lift up his eyes to his tithe-free neighbour, and see him labouring under an equal want of comfort, an heavier load of rent. The rent of land tithe-free is always much higher than of other land; it follows plainly that not a holder in Ireland would be advantaged by the abolition of tithe to-morrow. The friends of humanity, these deliverers of the peasantry, would raise a structure of increased rent, whose basis would be curses and execration.

He lamented that the rights of the clergy had been treated with so much levity; they were not now supported upon divine origin, they stood upon the laws, the constitution, the articles of union, the King's coronation oath; in times when religion was young and flourishing, they might have been donations; now, that support would not do in depraved times, and they were become property, was it safe to sport with property? Rights admit not of degrees, degrees of importance they may have, degrees of sanctity they cannot have; the rights of the clergy, said he, are sacred as those of the laity, both much founded in public opinion, much resting on popular reverence; if the common base melts away both structures will totter; sport with the rights of others, if the moment of your sport be not death to your own rights; is it policy to teach the mob all this subtle logic, to make your peasants logicians, and your ploughmen philosophers? See to what species of mental knight errantry this may not lead.—But it may be said, the clergy do not reside to do their duty. This is not true; non-residence in Munster is very rare; breach or neglect of duty may be punished by the law; but do you do your duty? Have you no duty to your country, to your friends, to yourselves? Do you do your duty?—The clergy have too much. Did you never hear of Agrarian laws? Do you think it is easy to persuade the famished beggar that it is right for one man to have ten thousand a year, and another nothing? You open the way for every novelty which the fertile mind of man can breed.

I am not fanciful in this, the thing has happened in the last age, in your own country. The right honourable gentleman is not the first Sampson who has pulled down the pillars of the temple and perished in the ruins; they altered the church, they then found it necessary to alter this House, to alter the monarchy and the constitution, and at last, which might come more home to the feelings of gentlemen, they found it was wicked for the Lord's people to pay rent—Take care, says an ancient author, how you pull down old fabricks, lest the dust put out your eyes, whose Lyncean opticks would be able to pervade the fog which might be raised around us; who would undertake to say to the mob, “thus far shall ye go, and no further?” Who thinks he can sooth Bedlam into peace, deserves a cell for his pains. Remember the Italian epitaph,

Stavo bene, stavo migliore, sto qui.

I was well, I would be better, here I am.

After all I have to fear that any splendid novelty will spread ruin over this sacred ground; while the reign of reason and good sense continues; while religion lives, or even morality; while the memory of the revolution banner lives; the Protestant religion and the liberties of Ireland; so long will the church flourish in immortal youth; retaining the Athenian motto, “dipping but not sinking,” Nicely interwoven in your constitution, closely connected with your monarchy you cannot sink it; if it merged in the rage of the people it would rise again in the dignity of this House; if it fell here it would shelter itself under the wings of the peerage; if they refused it protection, it would hang to the title of the Crown, stable as the Throne itself.

When I consider the magnitude of the subject and its native strength, I am almost ashamed to think I have presumed to come forward as its defender; and my only apology must be, that bred in the seminary that feeds those holy fires, bound to protect its rights, I come forward to fight its battles almost from the foot of the altar.

Mr. FITZHERBERT said it appeared to him that the present bill was absolutely necessary to carry into effect the intention of the former Compensation-act; the object of that act was to relieve from oppression a respectable body of our fellow citizens, who had thrown themselves upon the protection of Parliament, and he was convinced Parliament never would refuse that protection to which every description of dutiful subjects had an undoubted claim; but in reading the bill it had struck him, that it might be possible to discriminate between contracts forced upon the clergy by designing men, and those which were fair and legal. That he had mentioned this to the right honourable mover of the bill, and it was his intention to prepare a clause to that effect, which he hoped would give general satisfaction.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) said he begged leave, before the question was put on the paragraph, to state a few objections, though at the same time, from his respect for the church, and his opinion of the abilities and good intentions of the right honourable gentleman who brought in the bill, he would move no amendment to retard its progress in the stage it then was. He would simply state what he thought had not sufficiently been attended to by the right honourable mover. His objection was, in a great measure, founded on his giving an unqualified compensation to all ranks and conditions of men any way connected with tithes, without the least discrimination between the lay proprietor and the officiating clergy; between those who neglected their duty and those constantly employed in the performance of every office which can dignify human nature. He allowed that what the right honourable gentleman had stated in the course of the debate, removed, in some measure, his objection as to one point; he could not be surprized, after the picture given of the treatment of some respectable characters in the South, that he had introduced a clause to the principle of which he must surely be a friend, as no man knew better than the right honourable mover, that a stipulation of residence has accompanied every act for the security of tithes or augmentation of salary to the clergy, from the 36th Henry VI. through several succeeding reigns, and at four different periods, from the 1st to the 31st of Geo. II.

He owned, he said, that whenever it was practicable, he would wish to see some such regulation observed; it gave the people in some measure an equivalent for what they paid. He said he could not but be a friend to the residence of the clergy, convinced as he was of its great effect on the morals and the manners of the people. In the part of the kingdom he was best acquainted with, a dispute for tithe was unknown, and a non-resident beneficed clergyman equally unheard of. Every measure to secure the rights of the clergy, if not connected with the happiness of the parishioners and peace of the country, is but a temporary expedient at best. At this time, however, he would make no motion by way of amendment, in a matter of so delicate a nature; he wished for the present only to recommend, not enforce; and though he was sensible regulations in the church had frequently been made by the authority of that House, he thought it might come with equal force, and suit the nature of the subject better, if it should be taken up by that learned and exemplary body who compose the right reverend bench. Let it come through what channel it might, he hoped to see at a future time such regulations adopted, as might ensure residence for a certain time in all parishes—a division of such unions or parishes as are too thickly inhabited, or of too great extent to be properly attended to by their present state,—and a better provision made for the inferior order of the clergy. He would venture to assert, such regulation would be

attended with the greatest advantage to the peace and good order of the kingdom; and that such a residence, accompanied, as it certainly must be, by acts of humanity and benevolence, when we considered the education, the character and rank of the clergy, could not fail in time of producing every effect their warmest advocates could wish for; they would receive their tithes and dues not only under the sanction of the law, but as the free-will offering of their affectionate parishioners.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1788.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEILL presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the amendment of the law in certain particulars therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. TRENCH moved "that the proper officer do lay before the House, an account of the number of persons buried within the parishes and liberties of Dublin respectively, between the 1st of January, 1783, and the 1st of January, 1788, distinguishing each year; and also distinguishing the number buried within the churches, and the number buried in church yards and other burial grounds; and also an account of the amount of the fees paid, and to whom paid, upon such burials, or for permission to erect tombstones, &c. in the said parishes respectively."

He said his object in calling for the account of the number of persons buried, was to shew the ill consequences that may probably follow from permitting persons to be buried within the city. And now, before he sat down, he would give notice, that in the progress of the Police-bill he should move two resolutions, one was to prevent clerks to the Divisional Justices from acting as attornies; and the other was, that the tax of 10s. a year on all sedan chairs, and which had been formerly appropriated to the Foundling Hospital, and lately transferred to the Commissioners of Police, which was exaggerated to amount to the sum of 500l. yearly, but which scarcely exceeded 125l. per annum, should be applied in aid to the funds of the Lying-in-Hospital, which at present stood very much in need of assistance. He observed, that if he was baffled when the bill would be in committee, he should propose his resolutions on the report of the bill, and if his endeavours to succeed should fail in the House, he would, through the medium of some noble personage, follow it in the next.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) moved "that the proper officer do lay before the House an account of the names and number of such persons as have been indicted at the several commissions of oyer and terminer and goal delivery, and at the several quarter sessions held in and for the city and county of Dublin, for

crimes and misdemeanors committed within the district of the circular road, from December the 1st, 1785, to December the 1st, 1786; and from December the 1st, 1786, to December the 1st, 1787, distinguishing each year respectively, and distinguishing those who were found guilty."

He said that his reason for calling for these returns was, that a very considerable expence had accrued from defending police men who were indicted for several crimes, and that this expence ultimately fell upon the citizens of Dublin, and from the information of several very respectable persons, the police were generally the aggressors of the law.

Mr. SHERIDAN presented to the House, according to order, A bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters within this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the Compensation-bill, Mr. Mason in the chair.

The SECRETARY OF STATE proposed a clause to the following effect: "That in all cases where the farmer should have justly and honestly set out the fair and legal tithe to which in law and conscience the parson was entitled, where he should have given the proper notice, and where no combination should exist to deter or intimidate the parson from drawing his tithes, that in such cases the parson neglecting or refusing so to draw, should have no remedy under this act."

Mr. CURRAN said so much had already passed upon the subject, that he was determined to be extremely short in what he would now offer to the committee. The question induced by the clause just read was, whether the committee were determined to take from the farmers the common law right they now possess, of setting out their tithe, and allow the parsons, whenever through caprice or any other motive he chuses, to refuse them this right. If this was the intention of the committee, the clause would most completely effect it, but if the committee should be of opinion that to secure the rights of the church, the rights of the people ought not to be taken away, then they would reject this clause. We are now, said he, devising a law to punish the guilty, but I apprehend there is no law, human or divine, that punishes the innocent for the faults of the guilty, as this clause certainly will do if admitted into the bill; for the age in which we live, is not so immaculate, but we might find men who under this law, would take advantage of the situation in which you are going to put the landholder. The clause requires that the tithes shall be set out *justly, and fairly, and honestly, and that there shall be no combination to deter the parson from drawing*; what is this but to oblige the

farmer to prove a number of negatives? Is there any natural rule of justice in this? A parson brings his bill against a farmer, the farmer proves that he has legally and fairly set out his tithes; this is very well, but says the judge under this act of parliament, I must decree against you, unless you actually prove that there was no combination existing in the parish when you set them out, and that the parson was not unlawfully intimidated from drawing them!—Good God! is this consonant to the constitution, which deems every man innocent till he be proved guilty? You may set up an inquisition to make law so hateful, that people shall fly from its tyranny, you may force them by pains and penalties to emigrate to foreign lands, happy to withdraw their necks from the sharp edge of those statutes which they cannot otherwise escape; you may make the legislature odious, and cause legislation to be abhorred; but to what good will this conduce? Were it not better, if you will take an indiscriminate vengeance, to send out armies and let them be glutted with slaughter, if the poor survivors shall enjoy their liberty, rather than let Irishmen walk about with those laws hanging over their heads? I am ashamed, Sir, to see such a clause brought into an Irish House of Commons. Sir, I respect the church perhaps more than those men who make such an outcry about its rights, but I respect the constitution more, and therefore I am ashamed to see the constitution overthrown, from a pretended regard to the church.

Suppose, Sir, I am cited before one of my learned brethren, on a suit instituted under this bill, I shew to the satisfaction of the court, that I have given due notice, legally set out my tithes, and invited the parson to draw them away, which he has refused to do; so far very well; but the judge tells me, Sir, this is not enough, you must shew that you are not in any unlawful combination, that there is no combination in the parish; nay more, that the parson is not intimidated by any apprehension of danger from drawing them. Sir, the constitution says that if a man be accused of robbery, of high treason, of murder, he shall be presumed innocent till he is proved guilty; but this clause says, you shall be supposed guilty, till you prove not only your own innocence, but the innocence of all your neighbours. Sir, I say this is a law of tyranny and oppression; the wretches against whom it is intended cannot come to your bar, and shew their nakedness, their wretchedness and poverty; you will not hear them, but condemn them unheard, in a clause, which is an outrage on that act; which is itself an outrage on the constitution.

Mr. Serjeant TOLER said he rose to thank the right honourable gentleman who brought in the bill, for the regard which he had shewn to the rights of the constitution, while he was engaged in the no less honourable task of maintaining the rights of the church. He was extremely surprized at what the last honou-

rable gentleman had advanced; he was certain, he would risk his reputation upon such sort of argument in a court of justice; for he well knew, that under the clause, no man would be obliged to prove any negative; all that was necessary for him to prove, was the fair and honest setting out of his tithes, and if the parson went farther, it lay upon him to shew combination, or sufficient cause to deter him from drawing.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL.—After what has been said, and by such authority, I find myself called upon to say a word respecting this bill, though from the fatigue the House has endured upon this subject, I was determined not to give them a moment's trouble.

You are told that this clause now under consideration, is an outrage upon the constitution; you are told of an inquisition of dragging men to punishment; you are advised rather to send an army to massacre men, than to deprive them of their constitutional rights, and keep the terrors of this terrible law hanging over them; and finally, Parliament is censured in terms not extremely delicate, if they attempt to pass this clause. Now, in my mind, there is not in the whole bill a clause of greater mildness, one more perfectly harmless, or more consonant to the principles of common equity, than that which the honourable gentleman has undertaken to reprobate.

What is the history of the bill? In 1786 and 1787, the clergy not being able, from the combinations which then existed, to get their tithes in the usual way, were forced to enter into very unreasonable contracts with their parishioners; those the bill makes void, and points out a certain mode by which the tithes of 1786 and 1787 may be recovered. A right honourable gentleman, to whom this country owes much, who is always alive to the constitution, and whose opinion has great weight in this House, thought he perceived mischief in the bill; he thought it invaded a common law-right, and he proposed an adjournment, that an opportunity might be had of framing a clause to obviate the inconveniencies he thought he had discovered. The right honourable gentleman who introduced the bill framed this clause to remove every doubt; and the clause is now called a violation of natural justice; an outrage upon a bill that is itself an outrage upon the constitution: That neither one or other violates the constitution, will not be hard to shew.

We will suppose a case where the clergyman sues one of his parishioners under this bill; if the farmer can shew that he has fairly and honestly set out his tithe after due notice given, the judge must decree in his favour, unless the parson can prove somewhat or other that will undo that evidence: Now, where is the tyranny and oppression in all this? Is it not the practice in all courts of equity at this very moment? Yet this is the clause that is to overthrow the constitution, that is to stamp the legislature

with disgrace, that is to be carried to the South, and rouse that province to arms!

Sir, while I talk of this stile of arguing with derision, I profess that I love the law, that I love the constitution as much as any man that hears me; I love the people too; Sir, they are my fellow subjects, they are my fellow creatures; I am, and ever shall be, so far as my ability goes, ready to help and serve them; but I will not minister to their follies, or mislead their ignorance. In the last session we passed a law which has been found to produce a good effect; the spirit of sedition is almost laid. I should rejoice to see that that law should no longer be found necessary; mildness, I hope, will produce that effect, and I trust that we shall never again see a necessity for these occasional acts of Parliament, for it is my wish to see the people governed by mild and equal laws.

I formerly gave an account to the House of what I had been able to observe, in a station where I happened to be placed, of the causes of the insurrections; I did then, and do still think, that the clergy were mild and moderate; I resided for eight weeks in the most disturbed part of the country, I kept my door open for every madman, every violent man, every foolish man that chose to come to me; I heard all their complaints and all their stories, and do declare that from all I could hear, even from their most furious opposers, there was no cause of complaint of the clergy, taking them as a body. There are, no doubt amongst them, as in all large bodies, unreasonable men, avaricious men, and sordid men, but their number is very small.

I would not, at the same time that I am an advocate for peace, be thought a friend to exaction. I have heard some statements made in this committee which I think are highly improper, highly reprehensible; but I am certain what has passed will have the very best effect, for when the clergy and the laity see, that the Parliament are resolved to do equal justice, I trust we shall never more hear of these disgraceful contentions.

I am convinced that a right hon. gentleman opposes this bill upon the purest principles, but I beseech him not to countenance, by his powerful name, the hopes of seditious men; the country has seen him undertake the most difficult, and what were then thought the most hopeless causes; they have seen him with a magnanimity and perseverance only to be matched by his exalted abilities, conquer every difficulty, and bring his country to a situation of security through obstacles deemed insurmountable. It is known that he never failed in any object he ever undertook; what pity then would it be, should he adhere to this, in which he cannot succeed without doing a mischief that would shake that constitution which he has established? Let him leave the conduct of the clergy to the right rev. bench; if any (as some few I confess there are) have erred, they will find monitors there. I

trust that right rev. bench will at their visitations express their sentiments upon this subject; I trust we shall see them circulated in pastoral letters, and that every means will be taken to promote residence, moderation, brotherly love, charity and forgiveness of injuries; and, if a few clergymen shall be found so lost to reason and religion, as to reject the admonitions and authority of their bishops, I trust the legislature will then step forth and arm the right rev. bench with power to restrain and punish every improper procedure of such clergymen.

Mr. GRATTAN said the public mind was not by any means so likely to be agitated by repeating a subject, ever so much, as by passing an improper act of parliament, and no act had ever given the people of the South such strong and general terror, as the very act now under debate. The right hon. mover had stated it as a bill of exigency, upon which he had proposed a proviso, which he now repeated, saving to every man his common law rights, unless he should be proved guilty of some of the offences stated in the bill. Would the bill he demanded stand that test? If it would, why not adopt the proviso? If it would not, it ought not to be passed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I have heard it said that this bill invades the constitution, and deprives the subject of his trial by jury; nothing can be more easy than to talk in this manner and make general assertions. But where did he find that tithe causes are cognizable by juries? Every man who has the shadow of an idea of law knows they are not; and every man who knows law, knows that if this bill had never had existence the clergy might recover their rights in a court of equity. The bill does only enable them to recover in a more summary way, and at a much lower expence to all parties; it gives the parson a right to sue before the judge of the land, instead of dragging the farmer into one of those Ecclesiastical Courts, the abuse of which formed the subject of debate for two days last week.

It has been asserted, that this bill throws unconstitutional difficulty upon the farmer, by obliging him to prove a negative, "that there is no combination, &c." I deny it; if the farmer gives due notice, and proves that he has legally set out his tithes, I rely upon it that the party suing must prove a fraud to entitle him to recover.

The right hon. gentleman had proposed, as a test of the bill, a proviso, to save to every man his common law right, unless it should be proved that he had committed some offence described in the bill; and he had asked, would the bill stand this test? Certainly it would not; for that test would be subversive of the constitution—it would make a criminal prosecution ancillary to a civil suit.

In the course of his argument the right hon. gentleman has said, we do not know the people of the South. I cannot agree in that opinion. I rather apprehend from some things the right hon. gentleman has stated, that he does not know them. I have lived amongst them almost my whole life—he but a few weeks. I am very closely, and have been very early attached to them, and God forbid that I should ever contribute to put it into the power of any set of men to oppress them; but I will again state what I mentioned before, that it is the duty of the landlord to protect his tenants; and if landlords would take the trouble to know their tenantry, and not leave them in the hands of rapacious agents and middlemen, we should hear no more of discontents; for, I assert, that the great source of all their miseries arises from the neglect of those whose duty and interest it is to protect them.

The committee went through the several clauses of the bill without any division.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1788.

Mr. GARDINER moved for leave to bring in a bill for the improvement of the principal avenues leading to the city of Dublin, by erecting turnpikes thereon.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said he rose to oppose the principle of such a bill; he expressed his astonishment at the right hon. gentleman's perseverance in a measure disliked within the House, and execrated without. He must indeed have a strong passion for resisting the wishes of his constituents, when he so often revived a measure of which they had so often declared their abhorrence. It is true, said he, a similar bill had been smuggled through the House last year, at the time of the assizes, when there were not fifty members in the House, but the peers had treated it as it deserved, and rejected it with indignation; and could he for a moment suppose the present bill would pass in any but an empty House? It would be but a resurrection to a second condemnation; at the same time he deemed this constant teizing the House upon a subject so odious, very unparliamentary, and he was inclined to think rather unconstitutional; and taking the frequent decisions against it as a proof that the principle was obnoxious, and therefore inadmissible, he should oppose the motion for leave to bring in such a bill; and he observed, that he understood last session from the right hon. gentleman, that he would not then press his bill till he and several other gentlemen returned from the assizes.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he was against the bill, and declared he should vote against the introduction of it.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he wished to know if it was a similar bill to the one which had been introduced by the right hon. gentleman last session.

Mr. GARDINER said the bill had for its object a general ground, for he understood that particular bills were intended to be moved for, for the roads on the North side of the city, and which were to be put under the direction of distinct trustees. He said his object was to get good roads, and every person who knows any thing of the county of Dublin, must know that the roads are in a most wretched state, and in some places almost impassable. As to what the hon. baronet had said in respect to its being unparliamentary to bring on the same measure in different sessions, if that position was true, we should not have at present an Octennial Bill, or a modification of Poyning's law, and he was confident that this measure will be ultimately carried into effect. As to the charge of impropriety in hurrying on his bill last session, he stood acquitted of it, for he declared he waited eleven days after the assizes were over, expecting the arrival of the hon. baronet, before he proceeded on it.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH observed that as the right hon. gentleman had declared his object was to get a good road, he should vote for the introduction of the bill, if it was for no other cause than for the novelty of having a good turnpike road.

Mr. OGLE said the object had been already so often discussed in the House, and every thing said both for and against the measure, and it had been already so often rejected, that he should oppose the introduction of the bill in the first instance.

Mr. CUFFE said he should vote against the introduction of the bill; at the same time he was really surprized that the right hon. gentleman would so ardently persevere in a measure so disgustful to the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, a city that the right hon. gentleman had many obligations to; and he declared that if he proceeded on his bill, he should call on the city to petition the House of Commons against its passing into a law, and he would bring forward the petition himself.

Mr. CURRAN said he hoped the right hon. gentleman would not at this particular period press the introduction of the bill; the assizes were just at hand, and several gentlemen would be under the necessity of leaving town; and as it was coming forward in a questionable shape, and likely to be discussed in an empty House, however painful it must be to him to oppose any measure proposed by the right hon. gentleman, he should certainly vote against the introduction of the bill; at the same time he observed, that it would come with more grace when the House should be full; and he declared that if the right hon. gentleman would consent to postpone it till after the recess, he should then vote for the introduction of the bill.

Mr. BERESFORD said he was for giving leave to have the bill introduced, in order to know what it contained.

Mr. GARDINER said he would not consent to postpone the bill; that from the likelihood of there being a very short session, there would not be very much time to spare, and he therefore insisted on taking the sense of the House.

On the question being put for leave to bring in the bill, the House divided,

Ayes,	—	—	51
Noes,	—	—	50

Mr. HARTLEY moved, that Counsel be heard before the committee on the Police-bill on Friday next.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD objected to Counsel being heard before a committee, as it was informal.

Mr. CURRAN said there was a respect owing to the city of Dublin, and their petition ought to be attended to; and it should not be set aside for any point of form; it was not acting with that decorum that was owing from that House to the metropolis of the kingdom.

Mr. BERESFORD said the petition was not from the city of Dublin, but from persons calling themselves inhabitants of the city of Dublin; and he asked, what would they petition against? Not against the bill, which is not as yet before the committee.

Mr. HARTLEY said he admitted that the petition was not from the corporation of the city of Dublin, but it was from a very numerous and respectable part of the inhabitants, who paid taxes, and who were affected by the tax; and, he said, it was taking a kind of little advantage in endeavouring to get rid of the petition by a point of form.

The House went into committee on the tobacco bill, Mr. Ma-son in the chair.

Sir HUGH HILL said he hoped the port of Derry would not be excluded from importing tobacco. He said that port possessed a great part of the tobacco trade of this kingdom, and it would be cruel to deprive the merchants of so extensive a branch of commerce.

Mr. ALEXANDER said it would be very hard on the merchants of Derry, if they were to be excluded from so productive and beneficial a trade. He reminded the House of the loyalty and affection the people of Derry had shewn to the Protestant Government; and he hoped gentlemen would not reward their merits by so cruel an exclusion: He therefore moved, that the port of Londonderry should be included.

Mr. O'NEILL said he would support Mr. Alexander's motion, and he hoped the House would not forget the stand that town made against tyranny and despotism.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I am astonished to see the people of Derry have the presumption to desire to be included in the bill. Sir, it is notorious to every one, that not above nine hogsheds of tobacco have paid duty in the port of Derry last year; and it is as notorious that twelve hundred have been smuggled. Perhaps gentlemen do not know the manner this trade is carried on. I will tell them—An American ship appears on the coast—immediately boats go off to her laden with money, by way of ballast—they bring in their cargoes of tobacco, which are paid for in hard guineas, every one of which are carried to America. Nay, so much do they hold the law in derision, that they have named the creek where this is chiefly carried on, Beresford Creek; and so much do they defy the law, that they have a fixed rate for smuggling—a guinea a hoghead.—After this, can they expect the indulgence of the House?

Mr. STEWART said that what his right honourable friend [the Attorney General] had stated was really the case on the coast of Donegal, but not at Derry. So little had the merchants of Derry to say to it, that he was assured the smuggling trade was supported by the capitals of some eminent merchants in Dublin; and he therefore hoped the citizens of Derry would not suffer for the faults of others.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER opposed the motion on the same grounds with the Attorney General.

Mr. BERESFORD said that the imported tobacco which paid duty at Derry last year, was nothing in comparison to what was smuggled; there had been about sixty-one hogsheds legally landed, nine of which paid duty, fourteen were in the stores, and the rest bonded and re-exported, which he had every reason to believe had been landed again in this kingdom; a practice much more detrimental to the revenue than down-right smuggling, as it produced not only the inconveniences of actual smuggling, but there was a bounty paid to the smuggler thereupon. In Great Britain there were but seven ports where tobacco could be landed, one in Scotland and six in England, of which there was but one on the East side of England, viz. Hull, while in this kingdom there are no less than eleven: so much advantage has this kingdom over Great Britain. But suppose, said he, we allowed the port of Londonderry to import tobacco. An honourable member [Mr Stewart] has assured the House that these practices are confined to the Donegal coast; surely, nothing would be easier for a vessel hovering on this coast, when questioned, than

to answer, she was bound for Derry; though the next moment she smuggled the greatest part of her cargo on that lawless coast, and entered the port of Derry with, perhaps, not one-tenth of it.

Mr. BORN said he rose to remind the House of the many obligations they owed that city. Consider, said he, that but for their exertions, you would not sit here as a Protestant Parliament—but for them the House of Hanover would not now so gloriously rule these kingdoms—but for them a despot would rule you with a rod of iron, and superstition veil your minds: And is it to those people you refuse so small a favour, as to permit them to share a trade so advantageous to this kingdom? Take care how you invade the charter of this city. The charter of this city permits them to trade, and you circumscribe that charter: But they have not only a claim on your gratitude, but your justice; and this House I hope will not refuse a boon so small to this loyal city.

Mr. RICHARD H. HUTCHINSON opposed the motion, and mentioned that a seizure was made at one time in the port of Derry, of no less than four thousand pounds worth of tobacco, by a right honourable friend of his, [Sir Hercules Langrishe.]

Mr. CURRAN.—I have always considered an high duty on any commodity as a premium to the contraband trader. This House has been repeatedly moved to lower the duty on tobacco from ten to six. The conduct of the gentlemen who conduct the revenue department reminds me of a circumstance which happened in our University some time ago:—The lads had got a custom of breaking the lamps; for a long time there could be found no remedy for this grievance, but mending them when broken, till at length a very sagacious member of the Board of Fellows hit upon a very extraordinary expedient: “The lamps, said he, cannot be well broken in the day without immediate detection, wherefore, if they were taken down at night-fall every evening, and put up every morning, the mischief might be prevented.” The learned doctor’s argument has been adopted by the gentlemen of the revenue; they find that smuggling has risen to a great height, they then shut up the ports, thereby making them of no use. He said he was sorry to find that the practice of changing the revenue officers from time to time, which was successfully followed in England, was not adopted here; nay, so long were they allowed to remain in one situation, that they were incorporated with the people, and became of the same common interest, and such root did they take in some places, that they were even returned as members of Parliament to this House.

: Mr. BERESFORD assured Mr. Curran that three-fourths of the officers of the port of Derry had been changed from time to time.

Mr. CURRAN.—But, not to trouble the House any longer, I will add but one argument more: In the memorable year 1688, the citizens of Derry shut their gates against a tyrant, in defence of your religion and constitution; and shall it be said that, in 1788 the doors of this House were shut against their prayers?

Upon a division there appeared

For the motion	—	18
Against it	—	72

The committee then proceeded through the bill, and Mr. Mason left the chair.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1788.

Mr. TRENCH said there were in all societies certain vices it was impossible to repress, but which might be converted to public advantage. What in some classes was only reprehensible, in others was productive of every species of crime. In this light he held gambling—an ordeal that most of his hearers, he believed, had gone through, and which might in the first class be considered as an engine of policy, like fines in the time of Henry VII. for opening estates, but which in the inferior classes was productive of breach of trust, forgery and murder. He wished to suppress gambling, or to turn it to account—it was a shift, but not his last. He wished gentlemen to consider against Friday, when the committee was to sit on the Police-bill, whether it might not be advisable to license houses for cards at a small sum, but responsible security—and for dice, at a sum, and security, much more considerable? But the opinion of gentlemen should regulate his proceeding; for if any persons were averse he would give up the measure.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he was not so hardy as his honourable friend, to wage war with so strong a body as the tribe of gamblers. It was, he confessed, a virtuous and praise-worthy undertaking, and he wished it success; though it was more than he could venture to hope.

The order of the day being read for reading a second time the Malahide Turnpike-bill:

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM entreated the gentlemen who had brought forward that measure to give it up entirely. He said it was obvious to him that in a little time, by the ill effects of turn-

pikes, the roads would be utterly destroyed; whereas were the gentlemen to relinquish that injurious mode, he would venture to vouch that the county and city would present liberally for the repair of the roads.

The bill was read a second time.

A petition of the Cheque Manufacturers of the city of Limerick, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that by several wise acts of the legislature the manufactures of linen and cotton have been much extended and supported by the premiums granted from time to time; that the petitioners see the advantage which arises to the fair manufacturers of printed linens, cottons and calicoes, from the well-formed regulations in the act of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of the reign of his present Majesty, which act the petitioners with regret feel does not extend to cotton or linen cheque; the petitioners humbly shew, that several manufacturers of cheque dye their own linen and cotton yarn blue with logwood, and sell the cheque by them manufactured without marking the said cheque with words denoting that the blue yarn used in the said cheque is dyed with logwood, by which means they are enabled to undersell the petitioners, who always dye the yarn with indigo; the petitioners humbly submit to the House, that granting bounties on the manufacture of cheque would very much encrease that manufacture, and that it would induce the petitioners to go more extensively into that trade; and therefore praying encouragement.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he understood that some gentlemen wished time to make up their minds upon the subject of reducing interest; it was by no means his intention to precipitate the measure, which he was sure would be found more acceptable the more it was understood; he was therefore willing to let it lie over till Monday, if that should be thought more agreeable to gentlemens' wishes than going into it now.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN said he believed the principle, that it is better to borrow at five than six per cent. must be universally admitted; the only argument then that could be urged, was, that the country was not yet fully ripe for such an event; the reasoning on that fact would best come before a committee, where, he doubted not, that it would be shewn, that money for every purpose of trade and commerce, could easily be had at five per cent. and where he would take the liberty to propose a clause in the bill, which would remove the objections that had been made.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—The bill is as simple as any thing possibly can be: it is an exact transcript of

the former bills for reducing interest, and therefore if the propriety of the measure be admitted, there can be no difficulty as to the bill.

Sir, I shall beg leave to observe, that this is one of those measures of great magnitude which has come before the House, under very unfortunate circumstances, but which if once rejected, may not appear again. Gentlemen may recollect that this House rejected measures which they have since lamented, because the opportunity of conveying advantages to the nation, however ardently desired, may never more return, and therefore they should give this measure a full and candid hearing, an impartial disinterested decision, lest they add one to the number of benefits, the loss of which this country must ever deplore.

Every gentleman will acknowledge that there is somewhere or other, a principle that acts strongly throughout the whole of our trade and commerce, and in a certain degree retards our prosperity. Gentlemen have been anxious to find out what this secret principle is, which checks all our efforts; which, notwithstanding our bounties and premiums, keeps us still behind, and which, notwithstanding the emancipation of our trade, hangs as a weight upon us, dragging us down, and repressing the energy of our exertions; to me it appears, that this counterpoise to our efforts is the high interest we pay, and Parliament ought not to shrink from an investigation of it, because it is a subject of great magnitude.

It is certain that no man will vest his money in trade, which is attended with certain trouble and some risk, unless he can make a profit considerably more than the interest it would produce if lent upon security. If money is to stand at six, no man will trade for a profit of less than eight or nine; he will rather live idly upon his interest, not permitting the capital to fructify for the benefit of the country. The legal interest in England is five, her traders borrow at a lower rate; but at best we have one per cent. against us, which operates not upon our manufactures only, but upon our exports, our merchants, and our shipping, and nothing more strongly proves this, than that our shipping is not equal to the consumption of our country; under these multiplied inconveniences we are to meet the traders of other nations in foreign markets. I therefore ask gentlemen, after all the high-toned language that we have heard concerning free trade and extended commerce, whether they are prepared to tell the country they must continue to labour under these disadvantages!

Sir, having just hinted at some of the disadvantages arising from high interest, I shall take the liberty of answering one or two general observations, that were thrown out when first I proposed this measure.

It was first asserted, that should we lower interest to a par with England, all the money would go there. Now, supposing we do lower to a par with England, the consequence feared is not

very probable; there is some expence and risk in the changing of security, besides a certain loss while the money is unemployed, and a further loss from the course of exchange being for at least nine months in every year in favour of this country, and this latter circumstance must continue so long as great part of our trade is carried on by English capitals, for the remittances to Ireland are not only the value of our direct, but of our circuitous exports; but should we to a certain point grow rich, we should then change places with England.

It was next stated, that the money now lying upon Irish securities would be all drawn away should interest be reduced; but this is an idle terror; it is not intended that the law should have any retrospect, and therefore mortgages, instead of being called in, would be assigned perhaps not without a premium. Gentlemen need not therefore be alarmed, and as to borrowing, they have not much to fear, for the future estates of this kingdom are tolerably well mortgaged already. However, if gentlemen did not get money to dissipate I should not exceedingly lament it, for it is a false wealth, that would immediately be withdrawn should any distress arise, and therefore would only tend to aggravate that distress.

Another argument that I have heard is, that money will always find its level. This, I beg leave to say, is an argument exploded by experience, and would have gone equally against any reduction of interest at any time; but I deny the truth of it, and I assert, that interest should be regulated by law, in a trading country, as low as the circumstances of that country will bear, otherwise the honest industrious trader and the merchant of that country will never be able to borrow a farthing, for the pleasurer and the spendthrift will always be ready to purchase the loan of money at a price much higher than the profits of the merchant or trader will afford him to pay. In this opinion I am supported by that excellent writer, Smith, and as I would rather speak from any authority than my own, I shall quote what he says on the subject.

“ Though the interest of money be too high, it will notwithstanding continue to be borrowed by prodigals and projectors, who alone will be willing to give an high interest for it. Sober people, who will give for the use of money no more than a part of what they are likely to make by the use of it, will not venture into the competition; a great part of the capital of the country would thus be kept out of the hands which are likely to make a profitable and advantageous use of it, and thrown into those that are most likely to waste and destroy it.”

As to the situation of the country, when the interest of money was formerly reduced, on a former occasion I stated the three periods. It was reduced in 1703, in 1721, and 1733. From the first to the second reduction was an interval of nineteen years; from the second to the third eleven years, and from the third to

this day fifty-years; and I did then say, that the country is in a much fitter state for such a measure than it was at any of the former periods.

It has been said, that this nation is too poor at present to bear the reduction of interest. Her wealth is best known from her imports and exports, and from the tonnage of the shipping she employs. When the first reduction of interest took place, the tonnage of shipping employed by Ireland was but 70,000 ton, it is now more than 500,000 ton—a quantity greater than that of England in the reign of Queen Anne, when the interest of money in England was reduced to five per cent. The exports of Ireland at the first period I have mentioned were 572,000—at the second 950,000—at the third 1,500,000—and at this day they are upwards of three millions. Surely, then, if from these facts we are to judge of the capacity of the country to bear the reduction of interest, there is no proportion between the last period and the present day.

It has been said, England has not for many years reduced her interest. She had no necessity for doing it—she had no rival, no competitor in trade; that is not the case with regard to Ireland. Gentlemen talk of the danger of losing the cash of England out of the capital on which we trade—I trust I have shewn that cannot be the case; but for a moment admitting it could, we should never less feel it than now, when we have a National Bank; and if there be a wish to extend the advantage of that bank, it can best be accomplished by putting the other banks on the same level—the more competitors the greater gainers will the public be.

There is one fact which, if I am well informed, (and if not I beg to be set right) proves that money is not so scarce in Ireland as some gentlemen would have us believe, and that it circulates pretty briskly. I am told, and I believe from good authority, that the National Bank buys and cuts for bullion, one thousand guineas a day; and I understand that among the shops where guineas are bought, another thousand is cut daily—so fast do they wear in circulation—What an immense sum yearly? Yet this practice has been going on for some years, at least with respect to the shops, and yet the sum is not missed out of the general circulation.

There are in this country three descriptions of borrowers;

The state, who borrows for public purposes.

The trader, whose borrowing promotes commerce, manufactures and navigation.

And the dissipated gentleman, who borrows too often for the purposes of extravagance.

As to the state, I hope there is no probability of her being a borrower any more; she has this year thrown a great sum into circulation, which cannot fail to help the second class of borrowers, and even accommodate the third,

The state this year pays off her whole funded debt, in order to change the rate of interest, producing a benefit to the nation of 98,000*l.* and as it is certain, that all the persons who receive their share of payment, will not replace their money again on government security at a lower interest, this advantage which the public receives from having a great quantity of money in the market, renders this year peculiarly favourable to the reduction of interest. I own that this was the object at which I pointed throughout all the operations of finance; I own, that I was vain of it, and that I am so still; this was the reason why I preferred lowering the national interest, to discharging part of the national debt. Why then will gentlemen reject this favourable opportunity? Do they wait till money lenders come to request that an abatement may be made in the rate of interest? Will that ever happen? Will they ever be less affected by it than at present? Will men ever forget their own self-love? Will the world ever alter in that respect? Do not, I conjure you, hope for such a change, but take advantage of a measure that will loose trade from its fetters, that will employ your people, encrease your shipping, and set you on a footing with the most prosperous nations.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said the question was to be brought into a very narrow compass, whether you would pay six per cent. for your money, or not borrow at all; if the bill passed there must be a clause in it, to oblige people to lend, or the country must be undone. No nation under the sun had ever undertaken to force such a measure by an act of Parliament—the wisdom of our ancestors revolted at the idea—the law had followed, but never led; both in England and in Ireland the fact appeared upon the statutes. The act of Charles II. c. 12. expressly states, that the market rate of interest was six per cent. but that evil men availing themselves of the law, often took eight per cent. for their money; wherefore it enacts “that six per cent. and no more shall be the rate of legal interest hereafter.” In the reign of Queen Anne it was precisely the same. Dr. Smith, on the Wealth of Nations, expressly says, vol. 2. page 453, “that during her reign the market rate of interest had fallen from six to five per cent. and that in the last year of her reign it was fixed at five per cent. by law.” Is that, said he, the case with this country now? He shewed that in every act that has ever passed for the purpose, some cause had existed which was wanting now. The wisdom of the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s plan on the three and an half per cent. debentures, he contrasted with this experiment, and said he wished to rescue that splendid measure from such a vagary as this. His right honourable friend had then brought his speculation in one hand, but in the other he had the money. Let him only shew that at five per cent. money could in any shape be obtained, he would agree to every part of his pro-

position now. The money lent from England would be occasionally withdrawn, and not a shilling henceforward be ever brought to us again; that very money which had enabled his right honourable friend to do this service to the public, would, and must be withdrawn. He said that in a case of this transcendent delicacy, speculation was folly, and the experiment like that of a man who would wish to see how near he could go with a candle to a barrel of gunpowder. In France and other countries, where there are laws of the kind, they mostly serve as an encouragement to usury; in Holland things thrive best, where there was no law at all; and low interest would always depend on the small demand for borrowing, and the abundance of wealth to supply that demand, for no law can reduce the common rate of interest below the ordinary market rate at the time when such laws are made. So says the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, and so says every author who is worth consulting.

He said he thought it would be ruinous to trade, and not beneficial to the landed interest, because it took out of the market all English purchasers; the only argument which had common sense in it, which was used against the absentee tax, and which at the time was thought irresistible.

The mercantile interest was almost unanimous against the measure. Mr. Belham, one of the wisest statesmen that ever sat at the helm of affairs, did not touch this tender string, although the credit of the nation was at so high a rate, that the three per cents. bore at times between seven and eight per cent. premium. He exhorted his hearers not to profess so much more wisdom than their neighbours; and he concluded in the words of Hume, "Let Government preserve with care its people, and its manufactures, its money it may safely trust to the common course of human affairs."

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said it could not be alleged that the measure had been brought before the House without full notice for two or three sessions back; he himself had mentioned an intention of proposing it, but he had been persuaded to delay his intention, until the experiment had been tried upon the public debt; that experiment had been now tried, and with the happiest success.

He said he always understood it as an axiom, that private interest should be kept not more than one per cent above the public, and should we bring it even to this, there would be no danger of losing the English money out of our capital, for it was generally understood that England was at this moment about to reduce her private interest to four per cent. This she was going to do from a well-founded opinion that it would benefit her trade; but if we should reduce our interest to five, he had almost said she must do it.

He begged that no gentleman would be offended at what he should urge in the course of his argument, as he had not the most distant intention of giving offence to any ; but he considered that there were in this country four classes of men concerned to oppose the measure ; the first class, he said, consisted of money lenders, who certainly would rather get six than five per cent. for their money ; a money lender who receives six hundred pounds a year interest, would very unwillingly reduce it to five.

Another class are those who want to borrow, and who say, if interest be reduced, the money they now have will be called in, and they will not be able to get a shilling ; but this class, he said, had already been touched upon, and indeed he was not very anxious to have great sums carried out of the kingdom for interest, when the principal was spent in dissipation, and not applied to any useful purpose.

Another class was those who had money out at six, and who feared it would be paid in to them ; this class he set off against the former, as it was impossible that the fears of both could be well founded.

The fourth class, he said, consisted of merchants, who acting upon great capitals, though at six per cent. would rather pay that price for money than to suffer young men to interfere in trade, anxious to establish a species of monopoly ; but competition is the very life of trade, and serves to bring all commodities cheap to market ; this, he said, was exemplified in the case of Arkwright's machinery for spinning cotton ; while that gentleman retained, by his patent, a monopoly, very few manufactories could avail themselves of his ingenious invention ; but a flaw being found in his patent, every one set to work upon his principle, he was obliged to reduce his charge forty per cent. and the consequence was, that on almost every rivulet in England was erected a cotton manufactory.

After shewing the advantage that must result, from the lowering of interest, to the landed man, the manufacturer and the merchant, he said, if ever there was a time that called loudly for such a measure, it is the present. I think it springs as naturally from the present circumstance of the times as any effect can follow its cause ; we have a profound and general peace in this part of Europe. France is too much occupied with her own affairs to disturb her neighbours ; the people of that country feel the principles of liberty ; they are struggling for their freedom against a despotism which is not the ancient constitution of their country ; they will never stop till they obtain success, and in doing that they will find themselves obliged to revert to first principles.

We are therefore secure against foreign disturbance while we enjoy domestic peace. This is a marked æra—we have no longer any party in parliament—there is no opposition, because there

does not appear any thing within these walls that wise and honest men can oppose—but we have a strange phenomenon in government; a Lord Lieutenant who is himself the opposition; a Lord Lieutenant who opposes every thing that can possibly prove injurious to the nation.

I have known many high sounding and very splendid propositions and offers come from Government to this House at different times, which those who made them would be very sorry should succeed; but here the offers of Government are ready to be carried into effect; and can any man who beholds the accession to trade and the influx of wealth through individuals hesitate to accept them!

The abolition of the laws against popery has done much, and the advantage of that measure will be felt more and more—as Irishmen, with Irish capitals daily go into trade.—Within fifty years this city has been new built—is not that a proof of wealth?—Look at your corn trade: In 1759, we imported corn to a vast amount; last year we exported to the value of 300,000*l*. This trade, if it goes on as it has begun, will prove as advantageous as the linen trade, and the prosperity of this trade, as well as of that, we owe to the gentleman whom I have the honour to address.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said he had endeavoured to preserve his mind, as much as possible, unbiassed upon this subject; he had even been disposed to think favourably of the measure, but upon the most mature deliberation he had altered that opinion.

There can be, said he, but two motives for adopting the measure—the benefit of the state, or the benefit of individuals.

From all that ever he could learn, he said, no nation had ever limited interest but for one of these two purposes—either to protect the thoughtless, the giddy and the dissipated, from the exactions of usurers and extortioners—or to secure to the state the use of money upon any emergency, at a reasonable hire; but the idea of regulating the interest of money for any purpose of commerce had, he believed, never entered into the mind of any legislature until the present hour. The principle that money always finds its own level had been so generally admitted, that there was no necessity for the state's interfering but for one of the purposes assigned, and in such cases the interest was always kept a little above the value of the money use.

It had been urged as an argument in favour of the measure, that reducing interest would make money more plenty, and thereby promote trade and commerce; in his opinion it would have the contrary effect, by preventing money from being got at all. Within a few years we have, said he, wonderfully improved and extended our agriculture, our commerce, navigation and manu-

factures : money is like other commodities, there may be a sufficiency or a scarcity in the market. Would it not then be a very dangerous experiment to attempt any measure which might drive money out of the market, at the very moment that there is the greatest demand for its use ? I admit the increase of trade, but I say this very increase, increases the demand for money. Now how has it been discovered that there is an increase of money equal to the increase of our trade ? Has any fact proved it ? You are told that a public loan has been negotiated at three and a half per cent. I acknowledge, with thanks, that the right honourable gentleman has done much for the country in that transaction, but I cannot subscribe to the assertion, that three and a half per cent. is all that has been paid for the interest on our funded debt, for the changing of stock and lowering of interest has been purchased by a lottery ; and though the measure as it stands merits much praise, it would not do so if the change of stock and lowering of interest could have been obtained without a lottery ; and taking all circumstances into consideration, I think myself warranted in saying public interest is still at four.

As to landed security, he asked was there any man who, upon the very best landed security in Ireland, could get money at less than five per cent. ? but the most considerable number of borrowers were obliged to pay six. On what principle then cut down the rate of legal interest to the very lowest rate given in the market on landed security ? If they did, no body would be able to borrow on personal security at all, land being so much better. In England, said he, the legal rate of interest is five per cent. yet any sum may be borrowed on land at four and a half. In Ireland the legal rate is six, and very few indeed can borrow at five.

There was, he said, a vast deal of English money in the country, that quantity was daily increasing ; if the bill passed the influx would be checked, and much of what was already here would be withdrawn. What effect would this have on an increasing commerce ? The commercial man must have it, and would bound over any walls that Parliament could raise to come at it, and then would be obliged to effect his purpose by paying a premium equal to the risque which the lender might run.

As to himself, he was neither a borrower nor a lender, he was perfectly disinterested in the event of the question ; but he would mention to the House a fact, which he hoped would place the matter in a proper point of view. A friend of his in England had sent him forty thousand pounds, to lend at six per cent. but as soon as he heard that there was an intention of reducing the legal interest to five, he had sent orders to withdraw it.

He acknowledged that where the state was to receive a considerable benefit, the interest of individuals should give way, but for a mere experiment to deprive widows and orphans, and those

who could worst bear it, of one-sixth part of their property, he could not think just or equitable.

Mr. CLEMENTS said he rose to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a question, the answer to which would in a great measure determine the vote he should give: Was there any ground for the report which had been circulated, that England was going to reduce her rate of interest, from five to four? He had heard from the fountain head, that Lord Hawksbury had formed a plan for that purpose, and that it had received the approbation of the cabinet, and was forthwith to be carried into parliament.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER desired to be excused from saying any thing on that subject.

Mr. COOTE requested leave to say one word in reply to the Solicitor General. That gentleman, he said, had argued, as if the quantity of money in a state was its quantity of wealth; that position he begged leave to deny; in his opinion, the wealth of any country was its quantity of productive labour, and that could best be ascertained by its quantity of imports and exports.

Mr. MASON.—The gentlemen who support this bill, have enlarged on the great advantages which our trade, manufactures and shipping must derive from a lower rate of interest. I perfectly agree with them in this principle, and consider a natural reduction of interest not only as a proof of the prosperity of a country, but as the means of increasing it. But my objection to this bill is, that it will not reduce the interest of money; and that, although it fixes a lower standard for the legal rate of interest, it will tend rather to increase than to diminish the rate of interest that will actually be paid; the fallacy of their arguments depends upon this—they have confounded together two ideas, that are in their nature entirely distinct; I mean the legal and the natural rate of interest; and have ascribed to a reduction of the legal interest, those salutary consequences, which can only proceed from a reduction in the rate of natural interest.

Whether it be possible for the legislature to ascertain by law, the price of the hire of money, has always been considered as a doubtful question, and some of the most able men who have written on the subject have concluded that it is not.

They say that money is merely a commodity, the price of which, like that of every other commodity, must necessarily depend upon the quantity brought to market compared with the demand. If the quantity of money to be lent shall exceed the quantity that is wanted to be borrowed, the interest of money of course will fall; but if the quantity of money to be borrowed shall exceed the quantity that is to be lent, the competition will fall between the borrowers, and the rate of interest of course must rise.

I have known this doctrine confirmed in this kingdom within my own experience. I remember a time when the common rate of interest was but five per cent. and when any gentleman who had the character of paying his interest punctually, could obtain any sum he wanted at four per cent. only. Does not this prove beyond all possibility of doubt, that, without the interposition of the legislature, money of itself will find its value; and that the price of it, like that of every other necessary of life, will always depend upon the quantity to be disposed of compared with the demand. Unless therefore this bill can create a redundancy of money in the country, it cannot reduce the natural rate of interest.

Were the right honourable gentleman to introduce a bill to establish a perpetual assize of bread, and to render it highly penal in a baker to sell leis at any time than nine pounds of bread for a shilling, without any respect to the quantity of grain that should be brought to market, and in seasons of famine as well as those of plenty, you would scout it out of the House as a ridiculous proposition; yet believe me the attempt is equally absurd to fix a perpetual assize of money, and to say that the hire of 100*l.* shall always be the same, whether there be a redundancy, or an absolute scarcity of cash in the kingdom.

The absurdity in both these cases proceeds from the same erroneous principle: The endeavouring to fix a certain permanent price upon a necessary of life, without any regard to the supply and the demand, on which the real value of it must necessarily depend.

I consider the natural interest of money in this kingdom, though rather on the decline, as still at six per cent. Now, Sir, if when the natural rate of interest is six per cent. you shall render it penal for any man to lend money at that rate, instead of reducing the interest of money to five per cent. you will raise it to seven or to eight per cent. on the necessitous borrower. I say the necessitous borrower, because the very act of borrowing implies necessity: No man borrows money for the pleasure of borrowing, but because he wants it: it is a necessary of life which he cannot do without. If he cannot procure it at a cheap rate, he must purchase it at a dear one; and the price which he will consent to pay for it will be proportioned to the urgency of his necessity, and the difficulty of obtaining it: and this bill will increase the difficulty of obtaining money there can be no doubt, as it makes it penal for any man to lend his money at the natural rate of interest, and no man of common sense will lend it at less.

But there is another circumstance attending this bill, which will wonderfully increase the difficulty of procuring money hereafter: it will put an immediate stop to that supply, which for many years past we have had from England. The monied men of that country have been tempted by the high rate of interest here

to send over large sums of money to this kingdom ; but it is not to be supposed that they will continue to do so, and to subject their property to the decisions of a foreign judicature, when they can obtain no higher rate of interest here than they can get for it at home.

In order to point out to you the consequences of this bill, let me suppose, that after it has passed into a law, a gentleman or trader, who wants to borrow 1000*l.* shall have recourse to a person who has that sum to lend. He will offer him of course the legal interest; but the lender will tell him, that though five per cent. was the legal interest, the natural rate of interest was six, and that therefore he would not lend his money at five per cent. only. The borrower will then desire to know on what terms he is willing to lend ; to which he will reply, that as the natural rate of interest was six per cent. he should have been satisfied with that, if the legislature had not interfered ; but as they had rendered it penal for him to lend money at that rate, he must also be compensated for the hazard he should run by transgressing this law ; and the conclusion will be, that for a bond for 1000*l.* at five per cent. the borrower will receive seven or eight hundred pounds only.

That such methods will be practised in this country for evading the law, is proved by the example of what has passed in England within a recent period ; for some time before the administration of Mr. Pitt, the interest of money rose to such an height, that three per cents. consolidated were sold at 5*l.* only, and the interest on the funds was of course upwards of five per cent. ; the consequence of which was, that not a shilling could be borrowed on private securities at the legal rate of interest. The landed gentlemen were reduced to a state of bankruptcy ; great quantities of land were advertised for sale in every part of the kingdom, and this evil prevailed to such a degree, that the Lord Chancellor, by an exertion of authority which nothing could justify but the exigency of the times, put a stop for some months to the foreclosure of mortgages : the landed interest was saved from ruin by such evasions of the law as I have now described, and usury became a national relief. If such were the distressing consequences of a law to limit the rate of interest to five per cent. in the most opulent country upon earth, how much more fatal must the consequences be at a similar crisis in so poor a country as this is ?

But I will suppose that this bill will be effectual for the purpose intended, and that no money will hereafter be lent in this kingdom at more than five per cent. I cannot perceive what advantage the public is likely to derive from that regulation.

Were this injury only to fall on those wise and frugal persons, whose only object is to heap up money in order to lay it out at interest, I should feel very little compassion for them ; but it will fall upon a very numerous and helpless class of people, who

have, a claim to your protection: it will fall upon widows and orphans, and the younger children of every family in the kingdom, the greater part of which depend for their support on the interest of the portions. Were a tax of 1s. in the pound to be imposed upon your lands, and that for no purpose of public utility, you would consider it as an intolerable grievance; yet you are now going to impose a tax of 3s. 4d. in the pound upon the property of all the poor people I have mentioned, without any advantage whatsoever to the country.

But we are told that this bill will highly contribute to the advantage of our commerce, for that trade has ever been carried on with greater advantage in countries where the rate of interest is low. I acknowledge the truth of this last assertion, as it merely tells us, in other words, that trade is carried on to greater advantage in countries that are rich, than in those which are poor; for there is nothing upon earth, except a redundancy of money, that can make the rate of interest very low in any country whatsoever. But when gentlemen say that commerce always flourishes most in countries where the interest of money is low, they must necessarily mean, the natural rate of interest, and not that fictitious and arbitrary rate which an impolitic legislature may think proper to affix to it.

But this principle I will not apply to this kingdom, where but little of our trade or manufactures is likely to be carried on, upon borrowed capitals. I form my opinion upon this circumstance—that as the laws now stand, it is impossible for any man, embarked in trade, to give satisfactory security for any sum of money he may wish to borrow; for should he become a bankrupt, a misfortune which may happen to the most honest and intelligent, no bond or warrant he could execute the lender, would secure a priority to his demand, or entitle him to more than a dividend of the bankrupt's effects, in common with the rest of his creditors. I therefore conclude, that the credit of the merchants of this country must be chiefly confined to accounts current, and bills of exchange.

Without an ability of discounting bills, the trade of this kingdom could not be carried on; but the first object to the merchant is, the facility of discount, the rate of interest is only a secondary consideration; though it must be confessed, that if he can discount at a lower rate, it is an additional advantage—but that is a matter which does not depend upon the bill now before you; it is already provided for by the establishment of the National Bank, the directors of which are compelled by law to discount at five per cent. only, and all the private bankers have followed their example; and therefore this bill might have been of some use about five years ago; it can answer no purpose at the present time.

But the right honourable gentleman, at the other side of the House has asserted, that it will raise the value of your lands,

which is certainly a very desirable object; but I have not sagacity enough to discover any connection whatsoever between the value of lands and the legal interest of money. It would indeed be the highest degree of absurdity to suppose, that there would be any such connection; for if the value of lands is to depend on the legal rate of interest, which legal rate of interest must necessarily and solely depend on the will of the legislature, it follows of course that the value of lands must depend on the will of the legislature, an absurdity too gross for any man to support. But, in truth, Sir, the price of lands, like that of money, or any other commodity, must always depend upon the quantity exposed to sale, compared with the money intended to be laid out in the purchase of them, which cannot be effected by the legal rate of interest.

But though there is no connection between the value of lands and the legal rate of interest, there is, I acknowledge, an apparent connection between the price of lands and the natural rate of interest; for we know by experience, that whenever the rate of interest has fallen, the value of lands has always increased in nearly an equal proportion; not that they are matters which depend upon each other, but because they are both collateral effects of one and the same cause—I mean a redundancy of money in the country. Whenever that redundancy takes place, the rate of interest of course will fall, and the price of lands of course will rise, because there will be a greater quantity of money either to be expended in the purchase of lands, or to be laid out on securities.

There is, however, one plausible argument which the right honourable gentleman may urge in support of his opinion. He may reasonably suppose, that if this bill should pass, many of the persons who have money to spare may be induced to apply it to the purchase of lands, rather than lend it out on securities at so low a rate of interest as five per cent.—that this will increase the demand for lands, and of course must raise the price of them.

This argument is founded on my own principles, and would be unanswerable, were we certain that the quantity of bonds to be exposed to sale would remain the same if you pass this bill, that it would be if you rejected it—but that cannot possibly be the case; for the greatest part of the money lent out at interest is borrowed by gentlemen of landed property, subject to incumbrances affecting their estates. Every man who is possessed of land is unwilling to part with it; and therefore when gentlemen are called upon to discharge those incumbrances, they chuse rather to borrow money for that purpose at interest than to sell any part of their estates. But if after you have passed this bill, the money which would otherwise have been lent out at interest, shall be applied to the purchase of lands, the consequence will be that the persons I have described will no longer be able to borrow on security the sums they may want to discharge the demands against them, and

will of course be compelled to sell part of their estates; and therefore if this bill should increase the quantity of money to be expended in the purchase of lands, it must increase at the same time the quantity of lands exposed to sale, and leave the relative value of lands and money precisely the same that it is at this day.

Mr. BUSHE said he had heard a great deal of eloquence from a learned member, which had not however convinced his mind, that the measure was impracticable, much less injurious.

The House had been told that they were not omnipotent; that though they had power to lower the rate of interest, yet they could make no law over which men would not bound to come at that which was essential to their existence. He admitted the whole force of this argument, but he asked did it follow that, because Parliament could not do every thing, they should attempt to do nothing for the benefit of the country? It was said that the only reason for regulating the rate of private interest, was to protect the giddy and the extravagant against the practices of usurers and extortioners; but would it not also be allowed, that it was necessary to protect the honest industrious merchant, manufacturer and tradesman, in the money market, against the interference of the giddy and the extravagant? Was it not obvious that while the latter class were ready to give high interest, the former could not have it at low? And was it necessary to ask, which of these descriptions of persons best deserved the protection of the state? That Parliament could not do all things he was ready to confess; but it was certain, that it had several times interfered to regulate interest, and had interfered with success. It had been said that if the rate of interest was lowered, it would be an apology for usurers and extortioners to exact high premiums, in proportion to the risk they run; but he hoped all money-lenders were not of that description; many were honest and would act in obedience to the law, some would be intimidated by the law, and the danger of transgressing; and from the accession of those to the support of commerce, its strength would be much increased.

It had been said that the rate of interest on private security, should always be kept one per cent. above the rate at which the state borrows; the fact was admitted; the state borrows now at three and a half; but call it four, does not this exactly concur with the argument? In 1767, private interest fell to five; money may now be had at that rate, which is a very great proof of its present increasing plenty, for since that period, near two millions have been taken out of circulation, and that at a time when there was no trade to bring it back; but if the American war had not interrupted our prosperity, money by this time would have been immoderately plenty; there is a natural increase of 200,000*l.* a year; there is no danger, from the present system of government, that we shall again revert to the pernicious practice of running in

debt; and therefore, whether the country is to have the advantage of a low rate of interest, depends entirely upon the will of this House, for every thing else concurs. Great praise had been bestowed upon that able minister [Mr. Pelham] for not having attempted to reduce the rate of interest in England, at a time that money was sufficiently plenty in that country to warrant such a measure. Mr. Pelham had certainly been right, but he was right only by accident; for it was impossible for him to have foreseen that England would have since incurred two hundred million of public debt; and if that misfortune had not happened, Mr. Pelham would have been exceedingly wrong.

He concluded with saying, that though these were his present sentiments, he could wish to hear the opinion of gentlemen better versed in the subject, and therefore he was for committing the bill.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said he was against reducing interest: as a proof that money could not be had lower than six, he assured the House, that Lord Mansfield had a very large sum on land in Ireland, at that rate.

Mr. HARTLEY said he had ever considered money as a commodity, which would find its own level; he had not heard any argument urged for reducing the value of it, which applied at all to the fact, or which in his opinion ought to be admitted as a reason for reducing that value below its natural level. It had been urged, that the interest on the public debt had been reduced; this he allowed; but that reduction had been purchased by two lotteries, worth 114,000*l.* a sum, which, in his opinion, would have been better applied in reducing so much of the principal. He asked, could the reduction of interest bring any money into the country? He believed it would have the contrary effect; and once gone, money would be diverted into channels, from whence it would never again return. He desired the House to recollect, that during the last war, England had been obliged to give five and three-fourths per cent.: suppose such an event again to take place, and that the English money lent in this country was at five? would it not all be immediately called away? and what effect such a revulsion might have, he left to the House to imagine.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he would not at so late an hour trespass upon the patience of the House, but as a fact or two had been stated, and very much relied upon, he would take the liberty of mentioning some facts, which might weigh, and possibly preponderate against them.

A friend of his had desired that he would enquire amongst his East India connections, for a large sum of money at the lowest interest for which he could get it; he accordingly made enquiry, and could assure the House, that provided sufficient security for

the payment of the interest upon the Exchange of London was given, any sum, how large soever, might be had at four per cent. per annum, nay, within the present week, he had lent for his friends a very large sum at that rate.

Mr. PONSONBY said he thought the situation of the country not yet ripe for adopting the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan; if money was plenty, low interest would follow of course, but precipitation might do mischief.

Mr. COLVILL said he rose to give his opinion, from the same motives that had induced his honourable friend, [Mr. Hartley] with whom he perfectly agreed as to the operation of the bill before the House, on the commercial interests of this kingdom.—He said there should be a legal rate of interest, to ascertain it where no contract was made, and to protect the inexperienced, the weak, and the prodigal borrower, against the rich, avaricious, and designing lender; but this legal rate should be about one per cent. above the fair market price, in order that the natural operations of trade might not be fettered, and that the estates of those who live by their money should not be lessened by the arbitrary dictate of law.—He said he heard with surprize the right honourable mover of the bill assert, that the general principle, of the price of money finding its own level, was an exploded doctrine. From whence does the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland take such an opinion?—Has any thing like it ever fallen from any member of the British House of Commons in this century? On the contrary, does not Mr. Locke decidedly argue on this principle against reducing interest in 1691? Does not Mr. Hume, who wrote later, build all his reasonings upon it? and does not Mr. Smith, in the best book yet published on political œconomy, confirm the doctrine of the other two able writers? Sir Joshua Child, although he wrote for reducing interest, does not say a word in refutation of this general principle; he does not mention it at all, because he knew it was against him. But if this principle be not founded, why does not the right honourable gentleman adduce some reasons in the support of his opinion? This he seems to decline, but I shall not do so. To shew the principle is true, I assert, that the price of money finds its level, like every other commodity, by the quantity at market, compared with the demand; and experience proves this to be true. Thirty-five years ago, money was lent on interest on mortgage at four and four and an half per cent. at that time our four per cent. debentures sold at 108. What was the reason of this, compared with the present day?—There was much less money in Ireland then than now, but the demand was also infinitely less, which was the cause of the low price.—Suppose the right honourable gentleman had been minister at that time, he would certain-

ly have had much better grounds for his reducing the legal rate of interest to six per cent. than at present.—See what would have been the fatal consequence to Ireland. The war of 1755 brought the three per cents. in England to fifty-six.—Would any man lend money in Ireland to improve your lands, to establish manufactures, or extend commerce, at five per cent. when the English funds not only paid a better interest, but gave you a prospect almost of doubling your capital on the conclusion of peace? Surely not.

Again, Sir, the legal interest has been a long time in England at five per cent. which shews in that country that money must find its natural level, even at the high expence of violating the law, while the Government there is obliged to purchase it at that high expence; for who can deny, that during the American and preceding war, Britain borrowed money to an immense amount at five and a half, six, six and a half, seven, and seven and a half per cent.? But, Sir, I can quote a more undeniable proof still of my general principle: In 1716, in the third year of Geo. I. an act passed, “for redeeming several funds, &c.”

The short history of the business is this: Government wanted to borrow two millions and a half; application was made to the Bank, and the directors agreed to lend the money, but on this condition, that an act should be passed to enable them to borrow money above the legal rate; and in the law I have mentioned, a clause will be found empowering the Bank to borrow money at such rate as it shall think fit, although it exceeds the interest allowed by law.

So far I have shewn that law cannot keep interest under its natural price; and I have mentioned one instance to shew, that when there was no demand it fell to four per cent. in Ireland, although the legal interest was six per cent. I will now mention some further instances: Some years ago for a short period money was plenty in London, and the Bank discounted foreign bills one per cent. under legal interest. But, Sir, the great proof of my doctrine is Holland, where, Mr. Locke asserts, there is no law to regulate interest; and yet it is a fact well known, that for a century past interest has been considerably lower there than in England, and perhaps lower than in any country in Europe.

I ask pardon for taking up so much time to prove a self-evident principle; and I am happy to find that so many able men who have spoke this day agree with me, although the right honourable mover of the bill does not.

Sir, let Ireland pursue the policy of England; for a century past her interest was higher than in Holland, and she availed herself of loans to a great amount, by which she has extended her manufactures, her trade and her power. Let us keep interest higher than in England, and like her we shall improve upon borrowed money. We have been called poor Ireland, and truly

called so, which will more clearly appear when I state to the House the nature of the commercial capital of Ireland, and which will at the same time shew, that although interest is certainly better to be low than high for trade, yet the difference between six and five per cent. is no kind of object compared with the risk of narrowing your trading capital by such a measure.

The Irish capital consists of three parts—what the merchant has of his own (which I am sorry to say is little, and if this bill passes will be less) of what he gets upon inland bills of exchange, at 31 and 61 days, at an interest of from fifteen shillings to twenty-five shillings per cent.—but at this high interest, which is from nine to fifteen per cent. per annum, he never takes it for longer periods, and has, besides the advantage of having the cash given him in the remotest parts of the island; and the last class of our capital is occasional loans of money at six and five per cent. as he can obtain it according to the market price. This latter is a small proportion of the two former, but on it depends (with a trader) their security, vigour and efficiency.

It is truly the oil (as Mr. Hume calls it) which frees the whole trading machine in which the honour and faith of the merchant is embarked, with the manufactures and produce of this country. Is it the scruple in the balance that weighs down one scale to disgrace and bankruptcy, and all their train of evil consequences to the community, or raises the other to honour and to fortune? Will any man tell me that knows this interesting subject, that it is important to buy this oil for 5d. instead of 6d.? but I will tell him, if he prevents the Irish trade from buying it at all, he will either narrow the commerce of this country, or ruin it altogether.

Sir, I do not exaggerate; if money is reduced to five per cent. and a war breaks out, the law must be repealed or evaded, or the trade of Ireland be narrowed or undone.

And wherefore is all this violence for experiment? If peace lasts, if money grows so plenty as to exceed the demand, will not money fall in its value as it did thirty-five years ago, and every advantage arise from the nature of things themselves which you propose by the present measure? What then is the result with mercantile reasoners on this subject—men who judge of principles by practice and experience? Your bill may do us irreparable injury, but can do us no good, more than the natural course of things already has secured to us.

Before I sit down, I shall make a few observations respecting the principles on which the National Bank was established, as it has been mentioned in the course of the debate.—These principles were just and true, and the reverse of those which support the present measure. What was the consequence? The orphan and widow, and that whole class whose estate is money, were left as they had been, and they did not complain; your merchants did not reason on the matter, they saw and felt the measure was for their

benefit. But how was the reduction of discount to five per cent. effected? Not by lessening the sum of money for the purposes of discount, but by encreasing it. That public money were to lie in the bank, a charter was given, and a power to borrow money and circulate notes, and the bank agreed to discount at five per cent. Here was a capital created to reduce discount. But what is the present case? You reduce the price of money in your island, the operation of which must be (if it has any at all) to lessen the quantity in the nation, and so far produce the effect opposite to what is desired, and opposite to the principle on which your bank was established.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER begged leave of the House to say a few words in reply. He said that though the subject had been much discussed and to a very late hour, yet that as he had still further reasons to offer, he thought, from the part he had taken, it was better to produce them. He then adverted to the assertion, that there was no inference to be made from interest on the national funds for ascertaining legal interest. This, he said, was contrary to the principles laid down by every writer upon the subject, who had all considered that there was a necessary proportion between legal interest and the funds, from the difference between Government and other security, arising from the superior certainty and punctuality of the former; and they had fixed that proportion to one per cent. What was then the case? The interest of our funds was at present three pounds eighteen shillings per cent. while the legal interest was at six per cent. He was then authorised to assume, that in order to keep the just proportion, it was warrantable to reduce the legal interest, while the difference was maintained which was esteemed necessary. He said it had been asserted that legal interest had never been reduced till the general rate of interest had fallen; this he contended, was by no means the case, and he reverted to the precedents on the journals at the last reduction of interest, when part of the national debt was at six per cent. and the remaining part at seven. And if, as it was allowed, that Government security was the best security, and therefore the interest on that security was always the lowest, he was justified in asserting, that in opposition to the argument which had first made an impression on the House, the lowering of legal interest had preceded the fall of national interest. This precedent had also disproved the argument that Government had never reduced its interest to the lowest extremity of the market rate; for the interest on Government security, from its nature and punctuality, is always the lowest rate, and yet, when part of the national debt was at seven per cent. the legal interest was reduced to six, and consequently under the lowest market rate; yet no prejudice was felt by the community. Thence he adverted to another argument of the Solicitor General, who asserted, that by the late operation of the loan and lot-

tery the Government interest had not fallen, to which he replied, that if by an operation of a lottery the four per cent. loan had been raised to par, and if by the same means the whole capital was paid off, and a new capital substituted at three and a half per cent. the reduction of the funded interest could not be denied; and if the three and a half per cents. sold at 90, the reduction was more evident, as it shewed that 3l. 18s. was the par. Having proved this point he went to the principle asserted, "that money would find its own level," which, he said, the facts that were stated in opposition had utterly disproved. For what had been asserted, viz. that after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, money had been lent on mortgage in Ireland at four per cent. and that four per cent. debentures bore a high premium, yet that it had not been thought right to reduce the legal interest, and that such a measure would have ruined the kingdom. Now it was on this fact he founded his reasoning: What had led to the low rate of interest at that time? Government was not then in the practice of borrowing. The same circumstance had taken place a second time, and interest would fall again. Government does not borrow at present, and is not likely to borrow. Interest would therefore sink, and he wished to take the earliest advantage of what must in necessity happen. Further, if it was allowed that the general interest was then at four per cent. the reasonings of his opponents shewed, that interest ought to have been reduced to five, and that measure had been only prevented by the improvident practice of Government in running in debt. Since that period the overplus of money in the market had been uniformly seized by Government; by the expence of the nation two millions had been taken out of the circulation and the capital of commerce; by which drain the supply of money was lessened and the interest kept up, and the four per cents. had fallen within the period from 1071. to 78.—What was the case now? There was an end to running in debt, the overplus of the market was no longer seized on by Government, the unnatural demand on the part of the state had ceased, the overplus of the market was converted into new capital, the four per cents. had risen above par, the whole capital of the debt was about to be thrown into circulation, and in changing the capital of the debt, 90,000l. would be left with the public. Money on good security was now advanced at five per cent. A gentleman had said, if the security were punctual, it would be lent at four. There was no danger that Government would again resort to borrowing, and there was a prospect of long peace. Was not then a reduction of interest practicable, and was not the time come? The borrowers were already reduced, for Government borrowed no more; by lowering the rate of interest he would reduce the borrowers still further, and cut off the dissipated and the profligate from interfering in the market, and heightening the difficulties of the frugal and

the industrious. If the borrowers were diminishing the proportion of the lenders to the borrowers is increased; the capital formerly absorbed by Government must now be lent in the market; 90,000*l.* of the funded capital must be employed in commerce. If then it was assumed against this measure that the interest of money depended on the quantity and demand, and gradually fell as the former exceeded the latter; when he had shewn that the borrowers were greatly diminished already, and might be more so, and that the actual quantity of money increased, and its proportion to the borrowers increased in a further ratio; this method of arguing upon the quantity and demand for money, instead of making against him, was conclusive in his favour.—He reasoned therefore on the facts of his opponents. He asserted there was a time when interest could have been reduced, which was when Government was not running in debt; that the same circumstances had now recurred, and that the measure was consequently again practicable. He acted, he said, on the present state of the country, and in prospect of its future state. He saw that from the avowed increase of trade, from the cessation of borrowing on the part of Government, from the high state of the public funds, this kingdom could bear the reduction he contended for: and he thought they had no right to check the sober and the industrious, by preferring the ease of the idle and the dissipated: that they ought to stop every improper interference on the money market, and prevent the expensive and luxurious from squandering the capital of the country in destructive pursuits, which would otherwise be employed by the sober and the laborious for the good of the community: that we should take the money of the kingdom from those hands in which it would be best, and place it in those in which it would fructify. That we had delivered our commerce from prison; that it was now time to strike off its fetters. Gentlemen had said that it would be better to raise the interest to seven per cent. than to reduce it to six; and that the trade of Ireland was at present carrying on by internal interest from ten to twenty per cent. He ridiculed and exploded such assertions: that the idea of making twenty and twenty-five per cent. on trade was preposterous, and that it could not be carried on by such means but for the purposes of fraud and bankruptcy, and ought therefore to be stopped. He appealed to the feelings of the nation and their commercial ambition; that all those spirited exertions were vain in freeing their commerce from a foreign yoke, if they were resolved to enchain it themselves. That we had long enough followed Great Britain; that it was time to endeavour at competition and equality; that we should place ourselves on a footing on which we could contend. Gentlemen might argue that trade should be deserted, that commerce should be abandoned; they might shew themselves tenacious of the inferiority of Ireland. He was not alarmed or checked by

such opponents; the fears of the timid, and the suggestions of the interested should never make him despair of his country. That the general arguments that had been adduced, had been always applied in such cases, but had not always been successful, and he trusted would not be so now. When was there a time that men were not interested to raise the rate of interest? When was there a time that it was not a measure of speculation, where the irrefutable could start doubts on the subject? He was not terrified by such bugbears. He could not be intimidated from offering to the frugal, the laborious, the ingenious and adventuring part of the community that protection which they had a right to expect against the idle, the useless, and the profligate. He could not resist giving every assistance to the commerce of his country which it merited. He wished this measure every success, as he knew it to be wise, if it was practicable; that it was so, the times demonstrated: and if it failed, he had performed his duty.

Mr. ALEXANDER said there was no man had less reason to be prejudiced in favour of the measure than he, he was not a borrower of money, nor did he owe a single farthing, but he had an ambition to see the commerce of his country extended. He wished to see the Irish merchant borrow at five per cent. because he was conscious that at present he traded under great disadvantage; and he was also certain, that whenever a merchant could borrow at five, a landed gentleman might borrow at four, or four and an half, provided he was a man of punctuality, so much better was deemed security on land; upon the whole, he perfectly coincided with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. BROOKE (of Donegal) was desirous of having the bill committed. He thought the representatives of a commercial people would be unpardonable, should they neglect so great a means of promoting the interests of trade.

Sir NICHOLAS LAWLESS said that as in former sessions, when any measure of this nature was introduced, he had always taken a part against it, and as he now saw sufficient ground for voting for the bill under consideration, he could not possibly give a silent vote on the occasion.

In former sessions he opposed motions for lowering the interest, because he then thought the nation not sufficiently opulent to rate the value of the hire, whatever money she might possess, as low as the neighbouring country; and also because he knew, that by the recent establishment of the Bank of Ireland, not only the merchant and manufacturer of Dublin, but indeed those of the whole kingdom, were served at a reduced interest; all good bills at two or three months being discounted there at five per cent.

He said, he hoped the House would excuse his digressing a moment, to call to their remembrance how much the nation owed

to the promoter of that measure—a gentleman who then filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; so much to his own honour and the advantage of the nation, and to whom he now with so much pleasure addressed himself. To him the nation was indebted for the reduction of discount to five per cent. on her commerce, as he made it a necessary condition on the establishment of the National Bank, besides the wise measure of insisting on a proper national security at all times easy to come at.

He said that much praise was due to a right honourable gentlemen, a member of that House, and to his family, for their assistance in forwarding that great establishment, and that, if he might be permitted to speak for himself, he thought he might claim some merit for the part he had taken therein.

But to return to the subject more immediately before the House, he said, he now thought that the measure of reducing the national interest, might be undertaken without any danger. He had heard on a former occasion, and on this night, with the greatest pleasure, a most flattering description of the situation of the kingdom, from a right honourable gentleman, [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] who, from his situation, his acknowledged abilities, and indefatigable industry, was the person most competent to deliver a well founded opinion on the subject.

He said, it was evident to every man open to conviction, that the state now could get money to reduce the interest on the national debt on much better terms than ever he had known or expected. That the manufactures and commerce of the country were avowedly increasing every day, and that it was a notorious fact, that instead of sending money abroad for bread, we received many thousand pounds yearly for corn exported.

He said he believed, indeed, some individuals might suffer on finding it difficult to borrow money under a reduced interest, and therefore might be obliged to bring their estates to market, yet he was firmly of opinion it would, in very few years, be found much to the advantage of the nation, and—as *Salus, or felicitas populi suprema lex est*, he should vote for the committal.

That he could truly say, no gentleman in the House gave a more disinterested vote on the question than himself, for that although he believed a reduction of interest would raise the value of estates, yet as he did not intend to sell any of his, he saw no advantage from that quarter, but on the contrary, he had some reason to think he might eventually lose some thousand pounds by lowering the interest.

Mr. BURGH said if they did not let the bill now go into a committee, they were done with it for ever; they had for 76 years been labouring under a disadvantage of one per cent. they had an opportunity of freeing themselves from it; would they, or would they not?

General CUNNINGHAM.—Nothing was ever more surprising than that there should be in this House a gentleman who would reject the motion of my right honourable friend, [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] for I think I never heard a more fair and honest argument, or a more modest and reasonable proposal than his, and therefore I am astonished to hear any one say, I will not admit the bill to go into a committee, where it may be fully discussed, but I will shut up my understanding against reason and against argument; no man has been found who doubts the principle of the bill; then how will you know the application of that principle, but by investigating the bill in a committee?

I admit that I am one who am not much conversant in finance, neither have I sufficiently studied all the manœuvres of trade to be a perfect master of this subject—but I believe I am not very singular in this House—the House consists of three hundred members, and not to speak disrespectfully, I believe if there are ten men within these walls who can say, they understand perfectly every question debated here, we are the wisest assembly in Europe; for my part, when I vote, if I should entertain a doubt, I shall look at the man upon whose judgment I can most depend, [the Speaker] and in so doing, I think I shall vote with my right honourable friend [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] whose ability and integrity is so deservedly respected. I know that he has taken infinite pains to make himself master of the subject; I know that he went to England to study and understand it fully, where the very best information was to be had, at the same time that he planned a late event, the benefits of which extend to the whole nation.

Mr. CLEMENTS said he would vote for committing the bill; the principle was self-evident; the only question that could possibly arise was, whether the country was now ripe for the measure; that indeed was worth enquiry, but the enquiry might be made in a committee; for his part, he would take it upon a commercial principle, and no other; as to the public, it was certain the public credit never had been so high as the present moment.

Honourable Mr. ANNESLEY said he was against the bill, and he moved that it be committed for the 1st of May.

Serjeant HEWITT seconded the motion.

Mr. CUFFE said after the very able manner in which the subject had been handled; after a debate which conveyed more information, and displayed as great talents as any he ever recollected; he was astonished at gentlemen attempting to stifle the question, by deferring it to a day on which they knew Parliament would not be sitting: If they wanted any farther information, no persons more competent to give it than the commercial people

of this city ; they might be immediately consulted, and therefore he could not consent to delay.

The question being put, that the bill be committed, it passed without a division.

It was then moved, that the House will on the first of May, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take this bill into consideration.

Ayes	—	—	27
Noes	—	—	75

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, that the bill be committed for Saturday next ; which passed without a division.

The House adjourned till Friday.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1788.

A petition of the mayor, bailiffs, burgeses, freemen, merchants, traders and other inhabitants of the town of Wexford, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read ; setting forth, that the petitioners trade has considerably increased of late years, and that they annually export corn particularly to a very large amount ; that their quays, for want of a fund to repair them, have by the unavoidable injuries of time gone so entirely to decay that there is not one at present to which the vessels can make fast or load or unload at without great inconvenience, except the Custom-house quay, and that is by much too confined for their number of shipping ; they beg leave further humbly to represent that their bar has been for some time extremely dangerous, and that during the present winter four vessels with their loading have been unhappily lost, and that the seamen, who were providentially saved, were rescued at imminent hazard ; they conceive that this evil may be considerably remedied by the erection of a certain number of buoys to be occasionally shifted under the direction of skilful people appointed for that special purpose ; they likewise conceive that rebuilding and extending their quays may, by narrowing and somewhat confining the channel of the river, assist in no small degree in deepening the water on the bar. To make these necessary repairs, improvements and appointments will cost not less than five thousand pounds, to raise which sum the petitioners are desirous to submit themselves to a temporary tax ; they therefore humbly intreat that the House may be pleased to bring in, or permit to be brought in, a bill to impose for the term of twenty years a tax of 6d per ton on every ship or vessel that shall load or unload any part of her cargo in the harbour or river of Wexford ; also that each vessel coming into or going

out of the harbour shall, at each time, pay 1s. 1d. per vessel; and therefore praying that the sum of 1s. 1d. received from each vessel coming in or going out of the harbour may be appointed for the erection of buoys, and for the payment of the people under whose direction they may be placed; and that the tax of 6d. per ton on each vessel as aforesaid may be appropriated to the purposes of repairing, improving and extending their quays.

Sir RICHARD JOHNSTON presented to the House, according to order, a bill to amend an act passed in the eleventh year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, entitled an act for explaining and amending several statutes for prohibiting under-sheriffs and sheriffs clerks from officiating as sheriffs clerks more than one year, and to extend the provisions thereof; which was received and read the first time.

On the report on the tobacco-bill being read,

Mr. ALEXANDER solicited that the port of Londonderry should not be shut out from the importation of tobacco; he was ready and willing, he said, to admit that some improprieties might have been committed in that part by some persons dealing in tobacco in a contraband manner; but he threw himself on the mercy of the House, and hoped the right honourable gentleman at the head of the revenue would pay some attention to his present solicitation.

Mr. BERESFORD said when this bill was in a former stage, several gentlemen had complained that the prohibitory clause would have been attended with great injury to several merchants of Derry, who had sent orders to America to ship tobacco, and in order to prevent any inconvenience on that head, he had introduced a proviso, that should extend the time for the importation till the 24th of June next; but now that the honourable gentleman had fairly and candidly admitted that illicit practices had been made use of, and in hopes that these practices would in future be put a stop to, he was willing to extend still further that proviso, and to allow the importation to the 1st day of March, 1789.

He said by this means he gave the merchants of Derry an opportunity of evincing by facts what the honourable member who spoke in their favour could only express his hopes of; that if in consequence of the indulgence now allowed them, they should quit their illicit practices, and import fairly, then there would be time between the meeting of Parliament and the 1st of March to continue the indulgence, and to put that port upon its former footing; and on the contrary, if they should continue their present practices, notwithstanding the indulgence shewn to them by the House, they might be positively assured, from the decided sense which the House had expressed of their delinquency, that they would incur the utmost resentment of Parliament, and be subject-

ed from thenceforth to those restrictions which, at the solicitation of the honourable gentleman who had promised in their name, were postponed.

He then moved a clause to that effect, which was agreed to.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH informed the House, that the select committee appointed for trying and determining the merits of the petition of Francis Saunderson, Esq; complaining of an undue election and return for the county of Cavan, have determined,

That John Maxwell, Esq; is not duly returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Cavan.

That Francis Saunderson, Esq; ought to have been returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Cavan.

And the deputy clerk of the Crown and Hanaper having attended at the table, amended the return, by erasing the name of John Maxwell, Esq; and inserting the name of Francis Saunderson, Esq; in the room thereof.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH then reported the third resolution of the committee, which was as follows :

Resolved, that John Maxwell, Esq; and the freeholders of the county of Cavan have leave to petition the House within fourteen days against the election of Francis Saunderson, Esq.

Mr DENNIS BROWNE said he believed that no instance could be adduced under Mr. Grenville's act, where such a resolution as the one now read, had been entered into by a select committee; he said that this resolution, coupled with the other two, made the return incomplete, it invalidated the report, and in his opinion the report ought not to be received. He called upon gentlemen who were acquainted with the rule of Parliament in these cases, to give their opinion on the subject.

Here Mr. Saunderson was introduced, sworn, and took his seat.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN said there was not the least necessity for agreeing to the resolution now read; for the right of petitioning, if the party thought themselves aggrieved, existed without the interference of such a resolution.

The SECRETARY OF STATE observed, that there was no other power given to the committee by the act of Parliament than to try merely the merits of the petition, and he here desired that the petition be read, which being done, he said that the report of the committee only went to the return, and the resolution offered to the House, referred the party to another committee to try the merits of the election.

Mr. DENNIS DALY desired that the minutes of the committee should be sent for, as they contained a most extraordinary resolution, which was, that counsel ought not to proceed to the merits of the election.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he thought the proceedings of the committee so very extraordinary and incomprehensible, that he was utterly at a loss to know in what manner it could be accounted for; in his opinion the report ought not to have been received, and the committee should be sent to re-consider their report; for what was the case? Mr. Saunderson petitions against an undue return of Mr. Maxwell for the county of Cavan; the petition is referred to a select committee, and the committee report, that Mr. Saunderson ought to have been returned; and by the resolution now offered by the right honourable baronet, it is implied, that Mr. Saunderson was not duly elected; and this resolution is founded on a case cited in Dugdale, of the return of a Mr. Eyre for the borough of Malding. In his opinion, the whole merits of the election as well as the return should be referred to the committee, and the committee having refused to let counsel proceed to the merits of the election, but wanted the merits of the election to be referred to another committee, and that committee perhaps to another, so on to *secula seculorum*. He declared that he thought the report ought not to be received; and as both resolutions of the committee were entered on the journals of the House, and the honourable gentleman had taken his seat, whether a motion for rescinding that vote would be proper or not, was a question he could not take upon himself to determine; but this he was pretty clear in, that without rescinding that vote, the House had a right to send back the committee to take into consideration the merits of the election.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said the report was not final; the return is decided on, but the merits of the election are not decided on; the resolution of the committee only go to the return, and not at all to the merits of the election; and in his opinion, without meaning the smallest disrespect to the members of that committee, there was an inconsistency in the report, and he, for his part, thought the committee ought to be sent back to try the merits of the election.

Mr. MICHAEL SMITH said he had not the honour of knowing either of the gentlemen interested in the business, but this was a question of very great importance, for it was whether the law for trying contested elections, should be absolutely repealed or not. He asked if the resolutions of the committee were entered in the Journals of the House? [Here the entry was read] He observed that the act of Parliament makes the determination of the committee conclusive on the House, and the committee ought to con-

fine themselves to the prayer of the petition. [At his desire the petition was read again.] He now took notice that the return only was complained of by the petition, and the committee were restrained from going into the merits of the election, as the return only was referred to them: the petition, and the resolutions of the committee had been entered on the Journals of the House, which had been carried into effect by swearing in Mr. Saunderson.

Mr. Serjeant TOLER said he was for having the consideration of this business postponed till Monday.—He said it was a question involving not only the privileges of the House, but also the privileges of the people; and in respect to the great stress that had been laid on the entry made in the journals, he instanced the case of a return for the borough of Sligo, where a vote for the return of a member was rescinded.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said he was of opinion that the committee ought to go back, till they found a complete verdict.—The resolution, he said, shews that the committee were doubtful if Mr. Saunderson was duly elected or not; by the law of the land they were sworn to try whether Mr. Saunderson was duly returned, and duly elected; he said that if this debate had taken place earlier, Mr. Saunderson would not have been sworn, and in his opinion, as the House seemed to be embarrassed, it would be necessary to come to some resolution on the business.

Mr. CURRAN said this was a question of law, arising from a construction of an act of Parliament; the act was mandatory on the House, and the report of the committee was entered on the journals, which was final and conclusive, and the resolution now before the House, being no part of the report of the committee, totally unconnected with it, and having nothing to say to it, it ought not to be received by the House.

Mr. HEWITT said he was ready to admit that the report of the committee would be final and conclusive, if they had done what the act of Parliament had required; and the act of Parliament requiring that the committee should report their resolutions together, and they not having done so, the report was consequently informal.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL expressed his embarrassment on the present question, and he requested that an opinion on the subject should be given from the Chair, which opinion, he said, should be conclusive with him.

The SPEAKER gave it as his opinion, that the return of the committee was final and conclusive on the House to all intents

and purposes, and that the House had nothing to do with the resolutions now before it; observing at the same time, that it was better to suffer a partial evil, than to permit any innovation in the usage and law of Parliament.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the petition of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, relative to the police, and for counsel to be heard in support of the said petition, Mr. Serjeant Hewit in the chair.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD desired the Clerk to read the petition.

The petition being read, and counsel called, Mr. Duquerry stated the case of the petitioners with very great ability: He contrasted the present enormous expence of the police establishment, which he stated to be 20,000*l.* annually, to the former nightly watch of the city, which amounted only to 4617*l.* a year; he proceeded to state that the institution had not only failed of its intended beneficial effects, but had also produced much mischief and very great oppression, that every parish of this city had convened, and without a single dissenting voice had agreed to petition Parliament for a repeal of the law; that it was a law contrary to the inclination of those for whose benefit it was intended, and who were the most competent judges what kind of protection was best adapted to the constitution of the city.—He then stated the oppression, cruelties and acts of violence which had been committed by persons acting under the authority of the commissioners of police, which were so numerous that there was no court, either civil or criminal, whose attention had not been engaged either by trials or actions brought against police-men, for disobedience to the laws, and for being guilty of the most enormous excesses. He compared the chief commissioner of the police to Attila, King of the Huns, who in his irruption into Rome, told the Roman people that he had come for their protection, when he in fact came for the purpose of devouring them up. After dwelling with some force on the several points stated in the petition, and reprobating the police law, by leaving the citizens of the metropolis destitute of protection and exposed to violence, he said, he should produce several respectable witnesses, in order to substantiate the allegations of the petition.

Mr MARCUS BERESFORD said it was unnecessary to produce witnesses, as he was ready to admit some part of the statement made by the learned counsel at the bar, and if witnesses were called, the discussion would be a partial one.

The Counsel, however, was desired to proceed to examine witnesses, and Mr. John Watson and Mr. Richard Wilson, being

examined, proved several acts of cruelty and oppression perpetrated by the police watch of the Barrack-division—Mr. Fleming, a respectable house-keeper in Church-street, gave the committee an account of the cruel treatment he had received from a Mr. Godfrey, a chief constable of the Barrack-division, for no other reason whatever than for looking into the police watch-house on the Inns-quay: That in consequence of the treatment he had received, by which he was very near losing his life, he prosecuted Godfrey at law, and convicted him, and Godfrey was sentenced to be imprisoned for six months; that application had been made to him by the curate of the parish, and several of his acquaintance, in favour of Godfrey, whose mother was reported to him to be in a state of frenzy on account of the confinement of her son; that in consequence of those applications he had consented to drop all further prosecutions on the business. He said he received 30*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* for consenting to forgive Godfrey, though the expence of the prosecution cost him above 40*l.*

The counsel then proceeded to examine other witnesses. Mr. Nathaniel Hone, an eminent merchant, proved the inefficiency of the protection afforded by the police, his ware-house having been robbed a few nights ago of wines and sugars to a considerable amount; and as there were stations for two police men in the lane where his ware-house was, and in effecting the robbery some hours must have been employed; from these circumstances he had reason to believe that the robbery was not effected without the privity of the police man. He informed the committee that when he called at the divisional justice's in order to acquaint him of the circumstance, and to consult him upon what was necessary to be done, because it was in the afternoon, he was denied to be at home, though he saw him in his parlour, and on urging to see the Alderman, he was treated with rudeness, and desired to go to the devil.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON moved, that the chairman do report progress and desire leave to sit again.

For the motion	—	49
Against it	—	56

Mr. Secretary FITZHERBERT observed, that he had attended very closely to the examination of the witnesses, and what fell from them had made some strong impressions on his mind, and he should therefore move that the chairman do report progress and desire leave to sit again.

The committee reported progress, and was directed to sit again on Monday.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1788.

A petition of the several inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Drogheda, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the chief magistrate of the said town has been for a series of years past impowered under several acts of Parliament to strike the assize of bread and to regulate the baking trade thereof, and also regulate the retail prices of the different sorts of meal, according to the average prices of grain in each weekly market, until by the act passed last session of Parliament, for regulating the baking trade of this kingdom in general, (some cities and towns excepted) an alteration took place by which the said power was taken from the chief magistrate there, in consequence whereof the price of bread has been advanced in a proportion of near one-eighth more than it would have been since the commencement of the said act, according to the middle price of grain, which is a grievance severely felt by the numerous manufacturers and poor inhabitants of said town and neighbourhood; and therefore praying the House to take the same into consideration, and pass a law that may operate there with respect to the baking trade and retail prices of meal, similar to the laws now in force for regulating said trade in the cities of Dublin or Cork.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill for reducing the interest of money, Mr. Corry in the chair.

Mr. CLEMENTS said the late debate which had taken place concerning the primum of manufactures, and the necessity of having that primum cheap, had fully convinced him of the great advantage which must accrue to a commercial and manufacturing country, from being enabled to get the use of money cheap; money, which is the primum of agriculture, trades, arts, manufactures and commerce, and which gives such a decided superiority to that nation, where it can most easily be obtained, that if her industry and natural advantages be in any degree equal to her rivals, they cannot long stand in competition with her. As a friend then to the manufactures and commerce of Ireland, he was of opinion, that the bill now before the committee should pass, as it would greatly tend to promote those objects, on which the national prosperity so much depended.

The time, said he, it is said is not yet ripe for this measure—there is nothing which gentlemen are more liable to mistake than the quantity of cash in this kingdom: when the light gold was called in under Lord North's administration, it was thought that forty or fifty thousand light guineas would exchange all the light gold in Ireland; it was soon found that six times that sum was in-

sufficient; we have been going on, cutting them from that day to this, and at the present time it is proved, that two thousand guineas per day are cut in this city, between the National Bank and private shops, and all this without being missed out of the circulation; but the strongest proof of the propriety of the measure is, that private persons and corporations do at this day get money at five per cent.—The Corporation of the City of Dublin pays no more on a large debt, and the Grand Canal Company are at this moment reducing their debt to five.

If the measure was not now to be undertaken, when war and tumult had ceased, when a wise and steady Government, pursuing measures of œconomy, reducing the national debt at the very moment they were augmenting the forces of the kingdom, gave the strongest assurances of a lasting peace; when money was more abundant in the country than had been known at any former period, and when our commerce, freed from its shackles, wanted but the aid of this measure to stand in competition with that of the most prosperous nations.

He concluded with declaring that he gave his most hearty support to the measure, from a full conviction that it would benefit the commerce and manufactures of Ireland.

THE PRIME SERJEANT.—The same principle which justified the reduction of the interest of money from seven to six per cent. will certainly recommend the reduction still lower to five per cent.—that is, to benefit our commerce, and place our merchants on a par with foreigners, upon which they are not at present. It is a measure that will enable our persons in trade to bring their commodities to foreign markets, and sell them cheaper—it will raise the value of lands, and by rendering the use of money more cheap, will tend ultimately to the promotion of our trade, manufactures, and fisheries, from enabling our people to prosecute them with vigour and effect.

He then desired the Clerk to read the preamble of the 5th of George II. chap. 7, which is the act that reduced the interest of money in this country from seven to six per cent. which was read accordingly.—The preamble stated the utility and benefit of the measure.

I thought, said he, it necessary to have this preamble read as a reason for differing with my honourable and learned friend, [the Solicitor General] for whose opinion I have the highest respect. With regard to what has been said relative to the loan and lottery, I must observe, that I highly approve of the conduct of the minister, in not announcing his intention of bringing forward this measure, because if he had, gentlemen might assert, that the advantageous terms on which the money had been procured for the public, proceeded from an idea of it taking place, which cannot now be urged.

The first object of a reduction of interest is not trade—it is to put a check to the dealings of the spendthrift, and to prevent him from encroaching so far on the circulating specie as to deprive the industrious of its use, who would apply it to better purposes. The spendthrift cares not what price he pays for money to answer his necessities, but the man of business or merchant, will give no more for it than will afford him after payment a sufficient profit for his industry—which in fact is a regulation of the interest.

I shall beg leave to state, from a writer whose authority is universally admitted, his sentiments upon the present subject. He says, “Low interest is the soul of trade and basis of public credit; it encreases the value of land, and without it it is impossible for a commercial nation to subsist.” This is the principle of the bill before you, and I ask, whether this country is not at present in a better situation for the reduction of interest from six to five per cent. than it was in 1731 to reduce it from seven to six? Who will say that this country does not labour under great disadvantages in the interest of money, compared to that which it bears in other countries? In Ireland the interest of money is six per cent.—in Great Britain it is five—in France four and a half, as appears from Necker’s statement by the deductions made on mortgages; and in England it is a fact of notoriety, that money has also been had on good landed security for four and a half per cent. Therefore, the reduction of interest in this country must appear as an obvious matter of necessity. If you wish to trade to France, surely you must wish to have your merchant on a level with the merchant of that country; you are ambitious of trading with Great Britain, and other countries, the ports of which are open in common to both—how then can you ever expect to support a competition under the disadvantages of paying one per cent. more for the use of money than your rival?

Consider the principle of the bill in another light. It will operate as a silent and inoffensive bounty on your manufactures—and augment the capital employed in them. While any other bounty would alarm the jealousy of every other commercial nation, this, by operating imperceptibly, will not; and by improving and strengthening your manufactures, may in future obviate the necessity of continuing all those other bounties for their support, which are so heavily complained of.

As to the argument grounded upon the operation of this bill, in calling money from the kingdom, I must observe, that gentlemen seem to estimate too largely the sums at present in this kingdom, bearing the interest of six per cent. We have no proof for determining that there are the monstrous sums which those who are inimical to the measure would insinuate.

It is a fixed and avowed principle, that men in trade cannot afford with punctual payments six per cent. for the use of money; and yet you are told not to reduce interest!

It has been said, that securities at present bearing six per cent. in case the bill passes will be sold for five. This is a groundless objection, for it would have no retrospect, and securities prior to, will be totally unaffected by it; if they are, it is most probable they will bring a premium.

I must mention a considerable advantage which the lender of money has in this country, and which he has not in Great Britain. It is the advantage given here by our universal registry act. He well knows the value of the security given here by this; when in England he has no such security at all. The only counties in England in which there are registers, are those of Norfolk and Middlesex—in all other counties the mode of transacting this business is by references to former deeds; which involves an enquiry in numberless difficulties, and causes it to end in uncertainty. In this country the lender experiences quite the contrary. He cannot be deceived, for by the 7th and 9th of Anne all deeds must be registered, otherwise they are null and void.

In the year 1785, when the Bank-bill was introduced, one of the advantages which was stated in its recommendation was, that it would cause a reduction of the interest of money, and oblige the Bank to discount at five per cent. The justice of the argument has been proved by experiment; for the Bank discounts at five per cent. and this bill realizes what the prophetic spirit of the minister foresaw at that period—a reduction of the interest of money.

Another security the lender of money has in this kingdom and has not in England, is this:—When a year and a half's interest becomes due, he may petition, without going to any of the expences of a litigation, bring the matter into a court of equity, and get a receiver appointed on the lands until the interest money shall be paid.

Punctual payment of the interest of money I think highly worthy the attention of a statesman; and I am happy that it has not escaped the notice of the right honourable baronet who has brought in this bill. So far as it may be injurious to particular persons who may have money to lend, I shall only observe—that property is the gift of society, and society can therefore regulate that property in whatever manner it may think proper. He concluded with expressing his most hearty approbation of the bill.

Mr. FORBES declared that he never rose to speak with more difficulty on any subject than he did at present. He confessed he had not made up his opinion, but he wished to receive the fullest information on the subject. He should, however, take the liberty of making some observations, which, in his opinion, would not be totally irrelative to the present subject. The right honourable baronet, who had introduced this bill, had taken up the state of tonnage in Great Britain, in the year 1714, (eleven years after the interest of money was reduced in that country to five

per cent.) and also, the state of the imports and exports of that day, and the state of the tonnage, and the imports and exports of this country at the present time, as a criterion to go by, in order to lay a foundation for the present measure. In the year 1714, the exports of England amounted to 7,696,650*l*.—In the year 1786, the exports of this country amounted to 3,729,481*l*.—In the year 1714, the imports of England were 5,000,000*l*. which made a balance of trade in her favour of 2,696,650*l*.—In the year 1786, the imports in Ireland amounted to 3,000,000*l*. consequently a balance in favour of her trade of 729,481*l*.; so that the whole exports and imports of Ireland, in 1786, fell short of the exports only of England, in 1714, in the value of 867,169*l*. He also stated, that in the year 1714, the home consumption of England was estimated at forty-two millions, and the circulating specie at nineteen millions; and this at the conclusion of a most expensive, but a successful and glorious war. The principle of the bill seemed to be, to force the money, on the interest of which a great number of persons live inactive, into trade. He observed that Sir Joshua Child had been quoted in support of the present measure; and he should also quote him, where he says, “this country (England) had always lowered the interest, when nature had prepared the matter.”—He asked if nature had prepared this matter in this country? He said, if you establish the rate of interest at five per cent. and that the landed security cannot get money at less than five, in that case the commercial interest would be materially injured; but if it can be proved satisfactory to him that money can be had at four per cent. sufficient to answer the wants of the landed security, there is an end of the question; and he will most willingly co-operate with the measure: But you are now called upon to reduce your interest to the same standard as in Great Britain, who has five times your exports, four times your imports, and fifteen times your wealth. In France, he observed, Mr. Necker states the circulating specie to be 99 million ster*l*. besides 24 millions of taxes. In Holland, the most wealthy commercial country in Europe, there is no law to restrain the interest of money, for from the frugal habits of the people of that country, and their attention to commerce, there do not exist a necessity for such a law. He now took a view, how far this country might be affected by the measure now proposed, in the case of a war: In the course of last war England gave six per cent. and sometimes more for money, and is it unfair to conjecture, that should such a circumstance take place, but money would be drawn out of this country and embarked in the English stocks? This was by no means visionary, on the contrary it was founded on reason and good sense; and would not this be an injury both to the commercial and landed interest? It had been stated that in consequence of the late transaction of the loan, and the consequent reduction

of the interest on the public funds, that 200,000*l.* had been sent into the market, and that from the promises made of the intended future œconomy of Government, more money might probably be set floating? For his part, he was one who paid no very great regard to promises made by Government on the head of œconomy; but what would be the consequence, if from any uncommon exigency, that 200,000*l.* were to be called in? why the landed property, and it is well known that almost all the landed property of this country owes money, would be most materially affected. He contended it was not in the power of the House nor of any legislature, to reduce the interest of money unless the riches of the country will permit it. He was willing to admit, that he approved of the principle of the bill, but from every information he had as yet received, and from every attention he had paid to the consideration of the subject, this country was not in a situation at present to reduce the interest of her money, and in his opinion the measure ought not to be adopted.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said upon the most mature deliberation, he was decidedly of opinion, that in the present circumstances of the country, to pass a law, reducing the rate of interest, would be an hazardous if not a desperate expedient. He acknowledged that to raise the value of land, to promote agriculture, manufactures and trade, were most desirable objects, but he must have the most unequivocal proofs of wealth, before he could admit that the passing of the bill would have that effect; and were gentlemen to talk for ever, the whole of their arguments must resolve into this simple question—Is there money in the country at this moment to warrant the hazard of reducing interest?

In order to prove the riches of the country at this day, many arguments had been urged; amongst others, the increase of tonnage, which was stated as being higher than the tonnage of England in 1714, when England lowered her rate of interest. Now let me state, said he, what this fact relative to tonnage really is? The whole tonnage employed by this kingdom, including fishing vessels, colliers, and every ship English, Dutch, Danish and Irish, is somewhere about 600,000 tons, as the right honourable gentleman has stated; but of these, the Irish tonnage makes but about 79,000 tons, whereas in 1714, the English tonnage only amounted to 444,000 tons; look then at the proportion between the English tonnage of 1714 and that of Ireland in 1788; but that the tonnage of the country foreign or domestic, is no proof of its prosperity, look back at the year 1750, when money might be had on good security at four per cent.; what was the whole tonnage of Ireland in that year? 150,000 tons of all denominations of shipping. Does not this circumstance flash conviction, that any argument drawn from tonnage must be a most fallacious argument?

I am proud to state the increase of our tonnage ; it is no doubt a proof of the prosperity of the country ; but no proof can ever be drawn from thence, that money is so plenty as to admit of a reduction of interest from six to five per cent. because the more open and extended our trade is, the more money will it require to carry it on, and consequently the more will the price or hire of that money be raised ; for otherwise, it would differ from every commodity we know, as the price of all commodities is enhanced in proportion to the demand for them.

It has been said, that the experiment is already tried, the public debt is reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. but this I utterly deny—had you advertised a loan of 800,000*l*. and had it filled at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and had it filled at that rate of interest, then the argument would have been conclusive. But what is the case ? You have contracted with certain individuals, to reduce one half per cent. on your funded debt, and one-sixth on your Treasury bills ; for doing this, you give them a reward in the shape of two lotteries, a reward which they very well deserve, for without a very considerable aid, by way of premium, it would be madness for them to enter into such a contract, and an utter impossibility to fulfil it ; this argument therefore goes directly to shew that the interest on the public debt is not $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—but just so much more as the interest of the first value of these lotteries to the original contractors will make in addition to that rate. If you have any doubt of what I now advance, postpone your bill till the debentures at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. come into the market ; if they sell at par, then the reduction of private interest to five per cent. is a fair experiment.

It has been said that lowering the rate of private interest will encrease the price of land ; I cannot see how this can be effected, except by making money more plenty ; and to me, lowering the value of any commodity is the strangest way in the world of drawing plenty of it to market.

There are many circumstances against this country, which in the minds of English lenders, are scarcely balanced by the one per cent. by which our interest exceeds theirs. An opinion has gone abroad, I hope ill-founded, that in disputes of property, justice is not always done, that men presume to expound the laws, who are utterly unacquainted with the practice of courts of justice, and who do not even understand the first principles of law or equity ; that suits are not always decided according to the merit of the question, but according to the merit of the parties ; therefore until this opinion is done away, we must pay the additional one per cent. or Englishmen will not lend at all at the risk of law, the risk of exchange, and the certain expence of agency. England gives one per cent. to Holland beyond the rate of interest in that country, and you, if you wish to see your trade increase, must give one to England.

It has been urged, as a proof of our abundance of money, that 2000 guineas per day are cut and sent to England. The destruction of guineas is rather an odd way of making them abound, and would prove the very reverse of the inference drawn from thence, if we did not know that the returns are made at least four times a year, and that the whole capital employed is not thirty thousand pounds.

Another argument is, that the Bank discounts at five—but has not the Bank great sums of public money? has it not the money of suitors and other advantages? and if so, how can it be adduced as an argument?

Upon the whole I am most decidedly against the measure.

The SPEAKER said he rose under some degree of embarrassment, because he entertained sentiments very different from the many respectable and learned gentlemen who argued against the reduction of interest, professed to feel, and because he viewed the facts upon which they had grounded their opinion in a direct opposite light.

They had stated, that no country ever reduced interest of money by law, except at a time when the market price of money had fallen below the rate proposed; that the legal interest should always be preceded by an abundance of specie, and never was or could be used as a means to make money cheap; this argument, he said, was founded entirely on mistake, and to prove it he would state to the committee some facts, and from those facts he would shew, that interest never had been lowered in Great Britain or Ireland but when money was scarce or its price high; and the reason is, that when money rises beyond its true value, or the use that any industrious man can make of it, it becomes necessary for the legislature to step in for the protection of commerce, to prevent that money which ought to be profitably employed by the merchant and manufacturer, from being taken out of the market by the idle and the extravagant, who are always ready to give a higher price for it than the industrious man can afford.

He would not have gone so far back as the reduction in Charles II's reign in England, if the honourable gentleman [Mr. Forbes] had not quoted the preamble of the act 1660, for the express purpose of shewing that the value of money had fallen previous to that year. The preamble says, "Whereas on fresh memory, the like fall from eight to six in the hundred, by a late constant practice, had found the like success." The honourable gentleman supposes the fall alluded to was a natural fall of price, and that it induced the passing of this law. But look to the history of those times: Cromwell's government had made a law in 1651, to reduce the rate of interest from eight to six per cent. this law had operated advantageously, and in nine years after, at the restoration, it was adopted with the Navigation-act, and many other of Cromwell's; but as the Government did not recognize

for legal the acts passed during the usurpation, they did not refer to this law in express words, but they re-enacted it by allusion and reference, so strongly marked in this preamble that it cannot be mistaken. The words, in fresh memory, and by a late constant practice, refer only to 1651, and the observance and effect of the law of that day. Every body must know that previous to 1651, England had not for years been in a situation to acquire wealth.

The preamble quoted shews us one thing certain, that the law of 1651 had the effect of reducing interest, and that the act of 1661 did not arise from a natural fall of money, but from a legal forced reduction of it.

The next reduction of interest there took place in 1714, in the reign of Queen Anne, from six to five per cent. Now what was the situation of England at that day? She had just come out of a long and expensive war, which, from the report of the Commissioners of Accounts, appears to have cost the nation sixty millions, bearing an interest of 2,811,000*l.* being an average of above five and a half per cent. Here we see a nation reduce the legal interest to five per cent. at the very moment that the state was paying above five and a half. Certainly five could not have been the market price of money then, or the state would not have continued so high an interest on their own funds, nor would they have borrowed, as they actually did in that very session, 1,200,000*l.* by Treasury bills at 7*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* per cent. including premium to the Bank, and above a million more at 6*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* per cent.; even the anticipation of the land and malt tax was made at five.

The preamble to the act of 1714 shews the state of the kingdom and decay of trade, and such was the decided opinion of the good effect to be expected from the forced reduction, that when leave was moved to introduce the bill, it was introduced *nem. con.* "that leave be given to bring in a bill to reduce interest to five per cent. without prejudice to parliamentary security;" these latter words in the title are strong, and though the nation could not then, from the high price of money, reduce the interest of the public debt, yet so speedy were the good effects of this law, and so effectually did it answer the general expectation of the kingdom, that the interest of the whole debt was reduced in 1716 from six to five; but it was necessary to give the law much more time to operate before it was reduced lower than the national interest, and it was ten years after, to 1726, before the reduction of interest on the public debt could be brought from five to four.

He then applied to the reductions of Ireland, and said, he would begin with the present century, and produce the most authentic records of the scarcity of money at each period of reduction.—The first was in 1703, from ten to eight. The representation of the Commons to the Queen in that year, says, "we cannot without the greatest grief of heart reflect upon the vast

decay and loss of our trade, and this your Majesty's kingdom being almost exhausted of its coin," yet in that very session a bill for lowering the rate of interest was passed.

In 1721, the next period of reduction appears, from the Duke of Grafton's speech, that the situation of the country was by no means the most flourishing, yet in that year, interest underwent a further reduction from eight to seven per cent. The Duke says, "and although your trade may have suffered, and the necessary means used for your security, have created some extraordinary expence, yet there is ground to hope that in this session of Parliament, such remedies will be applied as will restore the nation to a flourishing condition."

The Commons in their address, reply,

"The decay of trade occasioned by the public calamities and misfortunes which have affected the neighbouring kingdoms, hath reduced this to a very low and impoverished state."

He said he hoped gentlemen would allow him to pay some little attention to the speech of a Speaker to the Lord Lieutenant upon the passing of bills, for he would be a faulty Speaker indeed, who upon such an occasion would say what he did not know to be the sense of the Commons; he would therefore quote the Speaker's words that session, when he presented the money bills for the royal assent.

"Notwithstanding our poverty through the failure of trade and scarcity of money, yet our zeal, &c."

He then adverted to 1731, when the interest was reduced to the rate it now stands, at six per cent. the poverty of the country was again the object of complaint. On opening the session, the Duke of Dorset laments the low state of the public revenue, and the Commons in their reply mention, the great distress of the nation, by the public debts, and the decay of trade. The Speaker in his speech to the Lord Lieutenant, says, "notwithstanding all the difficulties under which this exhausted kingdom unfortunately lies, by the decay of trade, the scarcity of money, and the universal poverty of the country, we have provided cheerfully, &c. &c."

Thus, said he, it appears throughout, that at each period when a reduction on interest took place, the constant complaint was the poverty of the country, and the words "scarcity of money, exhausted of its coin, &c. &c." are as emphatical as words can be to denote the very fact I state.

The truth is, that money was scarce, of course its price high, and that no natural sale of price preceded each reduction, but each made to lower the price by force of law, and each had that happy effect.

From all these facts we may infer, that Locke, Smith, and other speculative writers, who are quoted as having laid down the doctrine relied on by the other side, are refuted in that doctrine

by experience ; I quote experience against speculation, and while they rest on speculations from theoretic authors, I stand firm in the history and recorded facts of both kingdoms. Their mistake arises from not distinguishing between the price and the value of money ; the price will be affected by the follies of the most extravagant ; the value will be ascertained by what the frugal and the industrious can afford to give for the use of it. The price may be and often is above the value, and a wise legislature, therefore, should endeavour to find that value, and to regulate the price ; or in other words, the rate of interest by it. The preventing of individuals to pay too much, is in fact to protect the industrious, preserve credit, extend words, and promote the prosperity of the state ; a legislature which neglects this conduct, is an unwary legislature indeed.

I omitted to mention two facts : In 1721, when interest was reduced to seven per cent. Ireland owed 50,000*l.* at eight per cent. and from inability for three years after, to reduce it, was obliged to pay that rate of interest. And in 1731, when interest was reduced to six per cent. the state owed 200,000*l.* at six per cent. which it would have reduced long before had the market price of money allowed it.

If then the situation of the country, at the three periods at which national interest was reduced, was a situation of scarcity of money, and if, as it appears, that reduction in no instance has proved injurious, but on the contrary, the nation has been uniformly benefited by it, what becomes of the assertion, that money will find its level, and ought not to be limited by law ? Is it not manifest, that money does not find its level until the legislature first appreciates its value, and then strike that level ? In truth, were money to find its own level as most other commodities do, laws for regulating interest would be unnecessary : it is only when it is above its value, that there is a necessity for the interference of the legislature to prevent schemers and spendthrifts from giving more for it than the value ; as, upon the same terms as to price, the security of the sober, honest merchant, will generally be preferred to that of the profuse and idle. Money is thus thrown into commerce, at a rate that will afford the merchant a reasonable profit, while he employs it.

Those who argue, that a reduction should not be made by law, until money has fallen in itself ; and that no law will keep down the price of money, argue against any legal limitation of interest ; for if money must previously fall, the law is useless ; and if it cannot prevent the rise, it is ineffectual ; therefore the gentlemen tell you, do not make a law till the object of it has been first attained ; do not make it when it can operate ; and argue, this is not the proper time, because the law might have effect.

Having, I hope, demonstrated that the market price of money is never regulated by its quantity, but must be limited by the

legislature; and having shewn from your own records, that no injury has arisen from lowering interest, even when the country was extremely poor, let us now see whether many circumstances do not concur at this particular time, to induce the legislature to interfere, and reduce interest to five per cent.

The public funds are now selling at four per cent; all paper of good credit and short date, is this day discounted by most of the banks in this city at five per cent.—and here I might answer the argument of my right honourable friend, who says that the National Bank is paid for discounting at five by the advantages it has received from Government—by asking him are the other banks paid—yet they do the same. He also said, the merchants were against it. There is no man will speak with more respect of the mercantile body than I will. I respect and esteem them; they are a body of most useful citizens; but I deny positively, that they are against it; but if they were, may I without offence say, most merchants deal in discount; and the merchant who does, is naturally distracted between two profits; he looks to one hand for the profit of trade, to the other for the profit of discount.

There may be other reasons for merchants not coming forward to declare their approbation of the measure now under consideration. The Bank discounts at five per cent. but seldom paper that has more than two months to go. The merchant frequently receives paper that has a long time to run, perhaps six months; he charges this paper with a discount of six per cent.; but when it comes within two months, he carries it to the Bank, and gets it done at five, thus profiting on it one per cent.

I do not mean to say, merchants who do this are of the class I have mentioned, nor do I mean to censure them. Self-interest is the spirit that rouses individuals to the risk of trade, and the gain is fair; but it deprives the other parties of a benefit, without serving the state.

Let me remind gentlemen of the establishment of the National Bank. In 1779 or 1780, a proposition was made to establish one—I promoted the scheme—and asked in this House, would the subscribers agree to be limited to five per cent. interest? they refused, and I opposed the plan, with this declaration, that I wished to make every bank the means of reducing interest to five per cent. and would consent to it only with that view. In 1781, when the plan of the National Bank was again brought forward, I stated, as one of the strongest motives for it, that it would soon bring about a general reduction of interest to five per cent. It has operated successfully in Dublin, country merchants discount there, they are subject to the cost of exchange: But let me ask you, what right have you to confine this benefit to Dublin? Hitherto it has only had its effect in a certain degree amongst the merchants of Dublin, or those who deal through Dublin; but certainly this is not just or equitable, with respect to the other

parts of the kingdom, and if the reduction of interest is not extended throughout, you do an act of manifest injustice, and behave like bad politicians, by making money cheaper in the capital than in any other part of the kingdom, and tempting manufacturers to settle in it. Sir Josiah Child, who has been mentioned in this debate, strongly supports the opinion I have advanced.—He says, repeatedly, and in the most direct terms, that low interest is not a consequence, but a cause of national wealth—lower interest and you cause an influx of money to trade—raise the interest, men will draw their money out of trade, and live idly upon the income it will produce by being lent out. Whether this is a desirable thing, in the present situation of the country, I submit to the wisdom of this committee.

It has been asserted, that Holland never reduced her interest; but if gentlemen will take the pains to enquire, they will find that Holland, by a placart of the states, reduced her interest in 1640 to five per cent.—in 1655 to four—and in some years after to three.

But let us compare the situation of this country now with what it was when this Bank was established.

Look at your linen trade, the people concerned in which are almost the only persons, besides the merchants of Dublin, that have profited by the reduced discount of the national and other banks. In six years, which is the period since discount has been reduced at this bank, the linen exported has increased in quantity from twenty to thirty millions of yards yearly. Look at your corn trade—till 1774 you had not bread to feed yourselves, you now export to the value of 400,000*l.* per annum.

The great operative principle of the Bank, is the discounting at five per cent. and as the rapidity of this increase of export began with its establishment, it is fair to attribute it in part to the reduced discount; it is certain at least, that the reduction has not retarded it. Why then when a partial experiment has been tried and succeeded, hesitate to make it general? The trade of the whole kingdom demands it at your hands.

It is said if you lower interest the money will go away out of the kingdom—where will it go to? Can more than five be had any where else? perhaps even five could not: But granting that it could, what man would go to the expence of removing his principal from one country to another at some loss, and without any prospect of advantage? Five per cent. at home are better than five per cent. abroad. If then the money will not be taken away, the effect must be, that either as much money will be lent at five as is now at six, or the difference will be employed in purchase, thereby enhancing the price of land; or in trade, thereby answering the very end proposed by this bill.

But they endeavour to alarm you, by saying, all the English money will be drawn away. Surely what is here at six per cent.

will have a monopoly at that rate, and must probably remain as long as we choose to keep it; and will what is here at five be withdrawn, on account of the growing wealth of the country? If it was sent in here and suffered to continue, what security of property was more precarious? Will it be taken away, because we are adopting measures for our prosperity, for encreasing our means to discharge the interest, and rendering the property still more secure? The riotous state of the kingdom, which to men abroad may seem rebellion, together with the loss of the dernier appeal to their own courts, might well have alarmed the English monied men; but those riots have subsided, strong laws have been made, and every day's experience must reconcile them more and more to the administration of justice in our courts.

But it is said that English money ought to be tempted into this country by a premium of one per cent. above the rate given in England, and that no more will come into the kingdom.—Every reason I have just now offered, leads me to believe this law will not prevent it from coming in—the growing encrease of wealth and means to repay, which that measure must produce, will certainly not deter it: But let us examine this argument—Does it all fructify in trade and make this kingdom richer, by six per cent. upon the whole of it? It does not, I believe: but to be of advantage, it must do more. Is it not an absentee drain upon the kingdom? Nay, how much interest is paid for money which never came into this country at all, but was spent in idleness and dissipation, in places where it was borrowed?

Sir, mortgages are the worst of all absentees, for they are of a nature that you never can tax them.

I admit that there is one part of the English capital in this country employed in a manner very beneficial to us; that is the money with which many of our bleachers stock their greens until they can dispose of their goods. But will not reducing interest enable the bleacher to afford his goods on terms proportionably more advantageous to his English correspondent? And will not this amply compensate? Will the English correspondent refuse to advance money, when his own trade and profit depends on it?

Another branch of English capital, is the money in the hands of various merchants, dealing with them on credit in account, at an interest of six per cent. If interest is reduced to five, is it to be feared that the Englishman will no longer pursue this trade; must he rather not concur with the laws of the land, than surrender the whole of his profits?

It has been said, that England keeps up her interest to five per cent. in order to get money for her merchants and manufacturers from Holland. This is the first time that ever I heard that England, in a state of prosperity, borrows for her traders: The English trade upon English capitals, and the country receives the full advantage. Is it wise then of us to forego a general national be-

nefit, for the speculation of trading on British money? Surely no: That country is in a wretched state, whose trade depends on foreign capital; which in a moment of convulsion or superior demand at home, may be all drawn away, to the utter ruin of our commerce, and internal credit. Should we not rather endeavour to give this practice a quiet check, and promote a capital of our own amongst our merchants? And what means will more certainly effect this point than a measure which will throw a great quantity of money into trade, and raise the value of each merchant's capital one-sixth?

But all these speculative evils were foreseen and urged before 1731, when the last reduction of interest took place. Mr. Dobbs, member for Carrickfergus, who introduced the measure, who understood more of the trade and state of Ireland than any man of his day, has mentioned them as the arguments then relied on; he succeeded, however, in his bill, and experience has since fully proved how much he was in the right, and how ill founded these arguments were. If we can argue from analogy, we must suppose them so now.

There certainly never was a time when this measure could be undertaken to more advantage. The common rate of money in England is said, by the opposers of the bill, to be from four to four and a half per cent.—If it be a desirable thing to bring British money here, five per cent. is not so low as to deter it, and certainly four and a half will not tempt Irish money away.

You have the prospect of a long peace, the balance of trade has been long in our favour, wealth therefore flows in annually, and this wealth is creating more wealth; Government too has ceased to borrow, and this House has pledged itself against the pernicious practice of running in debt; nothing less than some public calamity can defeat that resolution. The tumults which the English called rebellion, but which I would not call by that name, are subsided, the country is in perfect tranquility; the restored final jurisdiction of the House of Peers, of the exercise of which Englishmen entertained some jealousy, has been supported with a display of justice, equity and impartiality, that has given general satisfaction to all men. Let me add too, for those persons who apprehend it will be difficult to get money on loan, if this measure passes, that the increase of trade and manufacture will bring in wealth, if encouraged by low interest; that that wealth must either be applied in trade to produce more, or it will be lent at interest, supplying their calls, in the one case, or in the other creating an increasing fund of money, to the aggrandisement of the nation, and consequent supply of their demands. Let me also tell them, that if by any fatality trade meets a check, and the balance turns against us, away goes all the foreign money to pay it, the benefit of it is lost; the evil of it is, a perpetual drain of

interest remains. It is their business, it is the business of every landed man, to pursue trade as the only sure and permanent means of obtaining wealth for raising the value of land, and making money plentiful in the kingdom.

Every thing then concurring, and there not appearing the shadow of a danger from reducing interest, I think this a happy moment for adopting the measure.

Before I sit down, I cannot avoid taking this opportunity, the only one I have had, or perhaps shall have, of bearing my testimony to the good sense and utility of the measure of my right honourable friend, for lowering the interest on our funded debt. He paid off a large annuity of near 9000*l.* a year, without the cost of one farthing to the nation. The measure has been often mentioned in the debate, and the man who has done it deserves the thanks of the community.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY said he had listened with great attention to the right honourable gentleman, whose exalted talents, and numberless successful exertions for the advantage of this country, he was happy to acknowledge, though on the present question, he was sorry to say, his arguments had not their usual force of conviction.

He said he had observed a look of astonishment throughout the House, when the right honourable gentleman had asserted that the true time and season for reducing interest was, when money was scarce and interest high; but he hoped he would be able to disprove the position.

The reasoning of the right honourable gentleman, he observed, was rather of an historical than argumentative kind; he was therefore under the necessity of begging the patience of the committee, while he went back to those periods of history, to which the right honourable gentleman had referred.

The first period referred to, said he, is the act of Charles II. which, as the right honourable gentleman has truly stated, was a revival of the act of state, which passed under the usurpation of Cromwell; but every one knows that money was not scarce at that time: that act of state passed when England had just finished one of the most successful wars in which she had ever been engaged; when she had humbled the Dutch, and was in full and undisputed possession of the commerce of the world, and therefore a reference to that period shews that she lowered it when money was plenty and trade prosperous.

The next period to which the right honourable gentleman refers, is the reign of Anne, when, though the state paid five and a half, the rate of private interest was fixed at five; from which also the right honourable gentleman infers, that that was a time of scarcity of money—that I deny. Queen Anne's government, particularly the last years of it, was an unsettled govern-

ment, depending on one party only, while another party, at the head of which was the exiled family, kept Government in continual alarm. It was not therefore at all surprizing, that people chose rather to lend their money to private persons than to the state. At the time of the revolution, Government offered ten per cent. but could not get money; the fact is, that until the defeat of the rebellion in 1745, Europe never looked upon the Government of England as secure, nor thought the King unshakable upon his Throne; but let who would be King, private debts must be paid, and mortgages must be recovered.

The next point of history referred to is the address of the Commons to the Queen; but what does that prove? Every man who knows the country, knows that there were at that time violent disputes concerning the plantation trade and the restrictions on our woollen trade; the compact entered into between the two nations had been broken on the part of England, and the Commons of Ireland thought it their duty to keep grumbling, which they did until the year 1782; and if the insecurity of Government was a strong argument for raising the rate of interest on the public debt, above that paid by private persons in England, it was still stronger in Ireland, where the Government was even more insecure, and was therefore consequently more felt in all the operations of finance.

It has been alleged, that we who maintain the inexpediency of lowering the interest, do in fact maintain that there should not be any law at all to regulate it; but we do not hold that opinion; we do not say that there should be no law at all to regulate interest; but we say that money should first find its own level, and then the law should follow that level, but never lead it.

Again, it is said, that we need not startle at the idea of reducing interest to five per cent.; because it is in fact this day at five; and to prove this, the practice of the National Bank, which discounts at five, is produced. Now, when gentlemen come to consider this argument, what have they acknowledged?—What is discount?—Is it not essentially different from interest?—Does the discounteer always make his payments in cash?—Are they not generally made in his own notes?—Besides, is not the discount always deducted in the first instance?—and if so, is not discount a much more gainful trade than interest?

But, says the right honourable gentleman, you are to consider, that if you do not extend the reduction of interest throughout the kingdom, you give the traders of Dublin an unfair advantage over all the other traders of Ireland, for there are but few Banks besides those of Dublin. And pray, from what does this paucity of Banks proceed?—Is it not from the poverty of the country?—Do not the men of Cork, of Belfast, of Armagh, of Newry, understand their own interest as well as those of Dublin?

If they do, what does the paucity of Banks prove but the poverty of the country? and therefore it is said we should reduce interest.

It has been urged, that the plenty of money, and the many conveniencies which abound in the capital, has a pernicious effect in attracting people from the country to come and settle here. The plenty of money is by no means the cause, but the improvident bounty upon corn, the most absurd and the most improvident measure ever adopted by any legislature; a measure which goes to raise the price of lands in remote counties, to an injurious dearness, and to reduce them below their intrinsic value in the neighbourhood of the capital, where naturally they ought to be high: a measure, the ill effects of which are every day felt, by making the price of corn, particularly oats, greater in remote parts than it is in Dublin. At Dungarvan oats are now dearer than in this city.

Before he sat down, he said, he thought himself bound to bear testimony to the honourable conduct of the confidential servant of Government in that House, [Mr. Fitzherbert,] who, seeing it a measure of the highest importance had fairly left it to be decided by the gentlemen of the country, without any interference on his part.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said it had been asserted in debate, that the proposed reduction would procure loans for the little merchants, whom high interest had hitherto excluded.—The very reverse, he said, would be the effect; for, after the reduction, the money lenders would not be tempted to lend where there was any risk.

He said Mr. Smith had been quoted as asserting, that if money were allowed to be lent at a high interest, no money would be lent except to prodigals and projectors. He observed, Mr. Smith had only said, that would be the case if eight or ten per cent. were allowed to be taken, and therefore, in his opinion did not apply to the present bill; and if those called projectors were never to be furnished with any money, we should have no new manufactures; no new channels of trade opened. It had been asserted, that the reason why England had not for these 74 years reduced her interest was, because she had no competitor in trade; whereas, the fact was, that she had very dangerous ones in the French and Dutch. The former reduction of interest in Ireland, in 1703, 1721, and 1731, were said to have been attended with good effects, and urged in favour of the proposed reduction.—He said in the two first of those reductions, Irish interest had been suffered to remain two per cent. and in the last of them, one per cent. higher than in England; whereas, the present bill was to bring them to the same rate. It had been alleged that one per cent. disadvantage between two countries, in rate of interest, was enough to sink any trade; he asked if that were true, how could the Eng-

lish commerce have supported itself against the Dutch? It had been asked, where would the 200,000*l.* now go, which had been annually borrowed by the Irish Government for many years past? Must it not be lent to private people?—He answered no. Those who had been accustomed to the security of Government funds would, it was to be feared, continue in that habit, and send their money to the English funds. He said, if the practice of England or France in this matter, could influence us, we ought not to lower the proportion which our present legal rate of interest bears to the price of our land; as money laid out in purchase of land, brings in England only about three one-half per cent. and in France, only two one-half per cent, as Mr. Necker asserts; whereas, in Ireland it brings five.

As to the intimation which the mover of this bill had thrown out, that if we did not grasp at this boon offered to us now, we might never again have it in our power, he said he could not think so ill of ministers, as that whenever the state of this country should clearly require it, the minister of the day would refuse it; he was confident, at least, that could not happen under such a Viceroy, and such a director of finances as we had at present.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH contended that the sense of the people was for the measure, as there was much time given in this business, and there was not a single petition presented to Parliament against it.

Mr. COLVILLE said as the hour was so late he would trouble the committee with but two points—One was to shew what advantage Ireland would obtain in her trade by reducing money one per cent taken on the whole of one year's exportation on her linens and provisions—the other to prove that Mr. Pitt, who was a minister as able as he was wise, could have no intention to reduce interest in England from five to four per cent. as it must appear most evident, that such a measure would militate against his peace measure, of extinguishing the debt of England, and in case of a war would prevent his borrowing money on reasonable terms. He said, for the purpose of argument, he would suppose (what was not far from the truth, and would make his calculation easy and clear) that our yearly export of linens was two millions, and our provisions and other articles, comprehending corn, butter, beef, pork, tallow, &c. amounted to two millions more. He said there were three linen markets in the year, from whence he inferred, the return of money in this trade was in four months, and he supposed that one half of the trade only was carried on by borrowed money, so that he was to calculate the difference between six and five per cent. on one million for four months, which difference amounted to 3333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—thus four months interest on one million at six per cent is 20,000*l.* at five per cent. 16,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—difference saved by the measure 3333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* only.

He said the return of money in the provision trade, or second class of our exports, which he had stated, was six times in the year, being computed, on an average, at two months, from the time the merchant paid the farmer until his reimbursement; and supposing, as in the former instance, that only one-half was borrowed money, the saving to the merchant between six and five per cent. would just be one-half of the former sum, or 1666l. 13s. 4d. so that the whole saving by the measure on four millions of your exports would be 5000l. a year, or an eighthundredth part—one part in eight hundred! He said he did not confess that in the actual state of these trades a great deal of the two millions was obtained on Ireland bills of exchange, where a premium was paid in the country for cash, comprehending legal interest, and the risk of bringing the specie from the capital, which, to the best of his opinion and judgment, for the information of the committee, did not, on an average, exceed legal interest more than 12s. 6d. per cent. taking together bills at thirty-one and sixty-one days, and the different rates of premiums paid thereon; but as he took it for granted, the present measure leaves that part of our trade to go on as it has done, his former calculation of 5000l. or an eighthundredth part, is not affected by it; and without submitting to such discount (on many occasions) he did not hesitate to say, the trade of Ireland could not be carried on, and that it was the practice in Great Britain, although perhaps in general not at such high rates: And he further said, that any attempt to regulate this inland exchange or discount by law, would be as absurd and dangerous as limiting the course of exchange between Great Britain and Ireland. He observed, that it was absolutely necessary to trouble the committee with a clear statement of this matter, as the right hon. mover of the bill, and his right hon. friend [the Speaker] had both delivered an opinion very different from the real fact, and yet had built most of their arguments upon it.

In a former debate, the first gentleman had asked—How could Ireland trade with one-sixth in interest against her? and the latter gentleman has said this night, that unless we send our exports to foreign markets freed from a weight of interest of from ten to twenty per cent. it cannot subsist. The committee will judge how well founded these right hon. gentlemen are in their facts, when one states one-sixth instead of an eighthundredth part, and the other states 10l. to 20l. per cent. instead of 12s. 6d. per cent.

He observed, that it was very dangerous to interfere with the natural course of trade, of which the merchant was the best judge; and if by tampering with the commercial capital of the kingdom, it was narrowed or impeded, fatal consequences would really take place, by obliging the manufacturer to sell his linen, and the farmer his produce, at very reduced rates; destroy the

circulation of inland bills on one hand, and prevent loans of money to your merchants on the other, by an unnatural low rate of interest, and half the trading capital on credit of the nation is gone; the competition between the poor and rich merchant is at an end, the latter has the whole market to himself, and then indeed your farmers and manufacturers may receive one-sixth, or ten to twenty per cent. a lower price for their merchandize, and realize the wishes of the right hon. gentleman, by sending it cheaper to foreign markets. If the landed interest of the kingdom desire such a consequence, I assure them, such rich merchants as we have cannot make any objection to it, if they look no further than their own immediate interest.

He said he would now consider how far it was probable that the British minister would reduce the legal rate of interest in England to four per cent. and if he could prove that he would not, it would compel the friends of the present measure to shift their ground from Queen Anne's reign to the present time, and to prove that at present we are as rich as England, and can bear an equal low rate of interest.

He said the necessary and most favourite measure of Mr. Pitt's administration (whilst peace continued) was to pay off and extinguish as much of the enormous debt of the nation as he possibly could, and to lay the foundation to obtain plenty of money, in case of a war, on reasonable terms.

To lower the rate of interest to four per cent. would equally operate against both of these desirable purposes.

Respecting the first, the three per cents. are 76l.; if he lowered interest to four per cent. they should by circulation rise one-fifth, or to ninety-one; but as many things must interfere to prevent the actual price from following this rule exactly, I shall only state that such a measure in England would raise the three per cents. ten per cent. or to 86l.; and here he observed, that lowering the interest in Ireland will assist this effect, by preventing English money from coming to us, and by carrying other monies out of the kingdom to the funds.

Now, suppose by buying up stock at the market price, which is the mode adopted, that Mr. Pitt pays off ten millions in ten years, is it not as clear as the sun, leaving compound calculation out of the question, that it would cost the nation one million more?

On the other hand, suppose he actually does reduce interest to four per cent. this present session, and wants to borrow money ten years hence on the breaking out of a war, the consequence must be, if a low interest has any effect at all, to lessen the lendable money in England, and consequently when he comes to borrow he must pay a higher price for it.

If a private man owed 20,000l. would he not find it much easier to extinguish and pay off the debt, by buying up the de-

mands of his creditors at 15s. in the pound rather than of 17s. as he would find it much better, in case he wanted to borrow such a sum, to have two lenders at market instead of one?

He said, he insisted more on this argument, as it had been so confidently said, England was about to reduce the legal rate of interest, which he confessed would remove many of his objections to its being done here.

He concluded by saying, these arguments were unanswerable as to the conduct of England. The British minister, he was confident, would be as great in war as he had proved himself to be wise in peace, and would never think of a measure that could not benefit the nation, but must effectually impede and frustrate his own future operations.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said rising at that very late hour, it was not his intention to trouble the committee long; but from what had been said in the course of the debate, it appeared to him that some gentlemen, doubtless from a liberal and good-natured turn of mind, were extremely anxious to prevent the nation from acquiring a very great benefit, lest a few individuals might thereby reap some advantage; yet those gentlemen had been able to offer nothing which might not have been urged against the establishment of the National Bank; a measure which as strongly marks the wisdom of the right hon. gentleman [the Speaker] who promoted it, as the support which he gives to the present measure marks his upright and disinterested zeal for the welfare of commerce, and his perfect knowledge of the true interest of Ireland.

It has been argued, said he, as if my right hon. friend had asserted, that a time of scarcity of money was the most proper time for the reduction of interest. My right hon. friend made no such assertion; he shewed, from the most incontrovertible records, that the measure of lowering interest had succeeded even in times of great scarcity of money, and he argued *a fortiori*, that there could be no danger of its success now in time of plenty. The argument of a tottering Government, urged by an hon. and learned gentleman, cannot be now applied. The Prince and the people have now but one common interest—they are so inseparably connected now, that one cannot be shaken without moving the other—the good fortune of the Crown and that of the people now go hand in hand and prosper together, not as formerly, when the misfortunes of the Crown induced the misfortune of the people.

My right hon. friend has so fully answered every objection that has been made, and his arguments stand so firm and immovable, that I do not think it at all necessary for me to say a word in support of what he has urged; I shall only therefore take notice of part of what has since fallen, the answer to which he has not an-

ticipated, as in general he has done the answer to every rational argument; but no man indeed could have supposed such a mode of arguing would be followed.—It was said the Commons thought it their duty to keep grumbling and grumbling about the restrictions on trade, and complaining of poverty, though it was intimated their poverty was unreal—Sir, the fact was otherwise; the kingdom was in a most miserable situation, as appears not only from the language of the Commons, but the language of the Chief Governors to whom those Commons addressed themselves. Were the Chief Governors interested to make the country appear poor? or did they think it their duty to keep grumbling for want of trade? No; the truth is, the trade of the country was exceedingly low; interest was reduced, and trade recovered.

The argument drawn from the comparative view of tonnage has been controverted; but look at the tonnage of Ireland, that part of it which is merely Irish, and stated much under its rate at about 80,000 tons, compare this with the 444,000 tons possessed by England, Scotland and America (for they were all included) in 1714, when England reduced her interest, then compare the population and extent of these countries with Ireland, and see whether at this day Ireland has not nearer her proportion than is imagined: But why has she not more? because in a business so weighty and extensive as ship-building, interest makes a material article; by keeping up the rate of interest Ireland has almost totally lost that trade, and has given great part of her carrying trade into English hands, robbing herself of those advantages which nature has bestowed upon her.

Upon the whole, Sir, no man has controverted the policy or principle of the measure—but they say, let us see money first fall to its level—Will that day ever come? I shew them every symptom of an extended commerce—every proof of encreasing riches—every outward and visible sign of prosperity—but still they answer—where is the money?

I know that the situation of the country is at this moment ripe for the measure; and it comes to this question, whether you will indulge the wishes of extravagant individuals to borrow money in England at an high interest, to spend in England? or whether you will give that aid to the commerce of your country which now you have an opportunity of doing?

Mr. KEARNEY said that he did not rise at that late hour to argue the question, but to say, that he had heard nothing in the course of the debate to change his opinion, which was, that money would find its own value; an opinion founded on what would have much more weight with every man, than the authority of any writers however eminent; an opinion founded on an incontrovertible fact, that the market rate of interest on the same kind of securities falls and rises in every country, without any

change in the legal rate of interest, and that almost in every country in Europe, Government have been obliged at different times to give a considerably higher rate of interest than the legal one. He said that a difference had been made by some of the supporters of the measure, between the value of money in trade, and the price of it; for his part he acknowledged that he was ignorant what money would produce in any kind of trade, and he believed that there were very few in that House who knew any thing of the matter; but that the author of the enquiry into the wealth of nations, computed the average produce of the money in trade in England, at about ten per cent. There were, he said, two assertions made by the principal supporters of the bill, which he could not reconcile, the first was, that the trade of Ireland had increased of late very considerably, and that there was every appearance that it would become still greater. The next assertion was, that it was impossible for us to enter into a competition with other countries, until we reduced the rate of interest here to a par with theirs, though it is apparent that we have done so before, with the same disadvantage in point of interest of money. He rejoiced, he said, as much as any one, at the increase of our trade, but for that very reason he was against making experiments, and begged leave to remind the committee of the wholesome caution conveyed to posterity on the Italian's tombstone, "I was well, I would be better, and that brought me here."

The question was then put that the Chairman do now leave the chair.

Ayes	—	—	61
Noes	—	—	94

The committee then went through the bill, and having agreed to fill up the blank for the day on which the reduction commences, with September 29, 1788, they adjourned, and the House resumed.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1788,

A petition of the Trustees and Creditors of Robert Brooke, Esq; with a plan annexed, unanimously agreed on at a general meeting at the Royal Exchange, the 25th day of January, 1788, John Latouche, Esq; in the chair, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that an act of Parliament passed in the twenty-sixth year of his Majesty's reign, the object of which was, that trustees should be appointed, in whom all the estates and effects of Mr. Brooke should be invested, and that his person should be freed from the demands of his creditors; that the manufactures carrying on at Prosperous should be continued, and that other persons should be induced to embark therein; and it

was also enacted that 10,000*l.* should be paid into his Majesty's Treasury on the 1st of January, 1787, and a further sum of 6000*l.* on the 24th of June, 1794, and the private creditors of the said Brooke were to have the benefit of the residue of the produce of his estates and effects; that the deed specified in the said act, for vesting all the estates and effects of the said Brooke in trustees has been executed by him and his creditors, and in consequence thereof the said Brooke has been freed from all claims of his creditors by the said act; that the manufactures at Prosperous have been continued; that the trustees have induced other persons to embark largely therein upon their own account; but that the trustees, from want of property, have not been able to pay the 10,000*l.* into the treasury, or to make any dividend to the private creditors, to whom it appears there is more than 60,000*l.* due; that the trustees have with much trouble, and a great personal risk, supported the establishment at Prosperous, which must otherwise have been totally destroyed by the failure of Mr. Brooke; that the buildings have been kept in repair and prevented from falling into ruin, and are all at this day occupied; that the machinery has been all put into good condition, and is fully employed; that the houses and ground leased by Mr. Brooke have been let for one year, and that there are now at least one hundred and sixty looms, and one thousand persons employed there; that a supply of pure water has been procured, and the dying, printing, bleaching, cutting and finishing, as well as carding, spinning and weaving, are all carried on to great perfection by persons well experienced therein, insomuch that very respectable manufacturers in Dublin find their account in sending raw cotton from Dublin to Prosperous, to have the same cheap and well manufactured, whereby all the poor working people in this establishment are fully employed, and derive from thence a comfortable support for themselves and their numerous families; that the inhabitants of Prosperous were indorsers on bills drawn by Mr. Thomas Digby Brooke on Robert Brooke, to a considerable amount in value, and by the death of the one, and the failure of the other, the holders of these bills fell upon the indorsers, who being debarred by the act of Parliament from resorting to Mr. Robert Brooke, were under the pressure of these bills brought into great distress, and unable to carry on the manufacture to employ the working people; the trustees and creditors were therefore under the necessity of advancing the sums of 450*l.* 600*l.* 100*l.* to sundry manufacturers, upon mortgages of the buildings and improvements made by themselves at Prosperous, to enable them to proceed on their own account; that in consequence of the inhabitants and manufacturers at Prosperous being so deeply involved in Mr. Brooke's failure, the trustees have been hitherto prevented from receiving any rents from them, whilst ejectments have been brought by the landlord of other

leasehold interests of Mr. Brooke, adjacent thereto, for recovery of rent due thereon, and elegits have also been issued by creditors whose judgments were prior to Mr. Brooke's recognizance to Government, against Mr. Brooke's estates in the county of Cavan and King's county, so that unless some effectual measures are now taken all must fall to ruin; that should an extent now issue by Government, to cover the effects and sell the property of Mr. Brooke, the creditors would be exceedingly injured, the manufacture at Prosperous lost, the master manufacturers undone, and the poor working people drove to the capital to seek for employment, the good intentions of the legislature in the encouragement of this important establishment entirely defeated, and all the pains taken by the trustees to preserve it from being rendered useless, and under all these distressing circumstances the sum which could thereby be obtained for the public would be very inadequate; that they beg leave humbly to submit these circumstances to the consideration of the House, humbly observing that the longer things remain in the present situation the worse they will become; that the only effectual means they can now devise to preserve an establishment deemed of national importance, is, that the payment of the sum due by Mr. Brooke to Government be remitted, on condition that the present trustees, or any new trustees appointed by Parliament, should apply the money arising from the sale of his estates in the support of the manufactures at Prosperous, according to the annexed plan. By this means, although the public will not obtain the value now due to them, nor the creditors now divide any of the effects among them, yet the good intentions of Government in the establishment of the manufactures at Prosperous will thereby be carried fully into effect, and be certainly rendered permanent, inasmuch as in the place of a gentleman carrying on the manufacture not experienced therein, frequently in want of public aid, persons well acquainted with the trade, depending solely on their own industry, and not requiring assistance from the public, will have the direction of this establishment; and therefore praying the protection of the House to preserve this establishment from ruin, which has been so very expensive to the public and to individuals.

A plan for rendering permanent the establishment of the manufactures at Prosperous.

That Trustees be now appointed by Parliament, empowered to sell Mr. Brooke's estates in the county of Cavan and King's county, and that the residue of the money arising therefrom, after payment of such judgments as were prior to the recognizance to Government (if found necessary) do form a fund for the promotion of the manufactures at Prosperous.

That the trustees do procure a person who will open in Dublin a house for the sale of Prosperous manufactures (by wholesale)

and place the above funds in his hands, on his giving solvent security for the principal interest.

That the said person do advance the manufacturers two-thirds of the value of the goods they shall lodge in said house at the time of depositing, and the remainder when sold, charging his commission and interest for the money he advances.

No goods to be admitted into said house but such as shall be examined by a sworn inspector, and found to be well manufactured; the price to be fixed by the maker. No more asked, and no less than a piece to be sold.

A yearly settlement to be made by the trustees; and after deducting the rent of Prosperous and all charges from the rents obtained for the houses, &c. and the interest of the money advanced to the person who keeps the ware-house in Dublin, the balance to be divided among the creditors in proportion to their demands, each creditor first proving his debt on oath to the satisfaction of said trustees, and receiving a transferable debenture from the trustees for each 100l.

That by adopting this plan the manufacturers, who are now very poor, will then be able fully to employ the working people and pay the rents, as the advance of two-thirds of the value of the goods to the manufacturers will enable them to carry on trade in a proper manner, and the encouragement they will thus receive will induce other manufacturers to remove there from Dublin, &c. to share those advantages which they cannot obtain elsewhere, which must encrease the rents at Prosperous, promote the interest of the creditors, and render the establishment permanent.

Signed by order,

JOHN ROCK, clerk to the trustees.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN presented to the House, according to order, a bill to amend an act passed in the 25th year of his Majesty's reign, entitled an act to amend an act passed in the 12th year of his late Majesty George I. entitled an act for better regulating the office of sheriffs, and for ascertaining their fees, for suing their patents and passing their accounts, and for extending the provisions thereof; which was received and read the first time.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said that a certain right honourable gentleman had got leave to bring in a well known bill by a small majority; that he heard it was to be similar to that which had been introduced the four preceding sessions, and as often rejected; that as gentlemen would be going down to the assizes immediately, he thought it necessary to give notice, that if the bill was not brought in by Wednesday next, that he should make a motion for discharging the order; and this he considered as indispensably necessary to quiet the minds of the people.

Mr. GARDINER said that there were not worse roads in the universe than the avenues leading into this great city; that it was

a long bill, and not only required time for the drawing it up, but the committee appointed for that purpose should not be precipitated, in order that the whole might be as unexceptionable as possible. That he could assure the honourable baronet, the intended bill differed very much from any of the former, and that as to quieting the minds of the people, he supposed he meant the people of the county of Wexford.

It was agreed that the bill should be presented on Saturday next.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) moved it to be a clause of instruction to the committee on the bill for amending the Police-law, that such police men as take any person or persons into custody, shall be obliged to tell their names, if required, to those taken into custody, that they may seek redress if illegally apprehended, or improperly treated.—Ordered.

The House resolved itself into a committee on the petition of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin against the Police establishment, Sir Nicholas Lawless in the chair.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON mentioned what, he said, was a most glaring piece of remissness, or rather worse, that happened the night before, when a police man absolutely refused to give any assistance when called on, though a robbery was perpetrating contiguous to his stand, and very disagreeable consequences ensued.

Counsel being called in, Mr. Duquerry mentioned a most wanton instance of impropriety of conduct in some police men apprehending without any warrant or authority, an elderly woman, the wife of an Englishman, of the name of Bell, who had lately come over to embark in a branch of manufacture in this country, and that at a time too when the petition of the citizens was lying before the honourable House.

The son of the woman was first examined, and afterwards herself, who declared on oath, she had been confined twenty-two hours without any cause whatever on her part.

The reverend Mr. Saurin declared that on the charge of a drunken hair-dresser, who had made some noise in his house, but to whom no manner of injury had been offered, both he and his brother were taken out of his parlour in Molesworth-street, by a party of the police, who entered violently into his house, and, along with his servant and the hair dresser, brought through the open streets to the watch-house; that from thence they were conveyed to Alderman Carleton's, the Alderman of the division not being at home, and at first Mr. Carleton informed him that it was not in his power to release him; but he requested liberty to have his servant dismissed to carry a message. When going, he was bid to remember he was still a prisoner. When he waited on Alderman Exshaw the Monday following, that magistrate de-

clared there was no charge whatever against him ; that it was only money the fellows wanted, and that he would have been warranted in shooting them.

The reverend Mr. Gamble declared that he was in company with a Mr. Wilkinfon, a gentleman of property and character, and they had guns in their hands ; that they were seized, and brought into a watch-house, and when he told the serjeant that he was a curate of a neighbouring parish, he was told by the officer of the night, that if he was "curate of hell" he would not suffer him to go away, but that if they left their guns, perhaps they might.

A Mr. Hanlon, a Mr. Cranfield, a Mr. Killeen, and a Mr. Tate, were also examined.

The reverend Mr. Callage declared, that on an evening of public illuminations in the city, the mob were breaking the windows of his father's house, and behaving outrageous, though illuminating ; that upon going for assistance to the watch-house, he was informed by one of the police men, that the serjeant was asleep, and must not be awakened on any account.

The reverend Mr. Miller declared, that he lived directly opposite the guard-house in Mary-street, and had done so for seven years past ; and that from his observation, the police of that parish were the cause of more riots than the prevention of them, and that he thought the peace of the parish much better preserved in the time of the watch, than since the present establishment.— Upon being interrogated, he said that tarring and feathering had ceased since the police institution ? He said that it had done so for some months before the parochial watch had been set aside. When asked about the inability of the former watchmen to prevent riots and secure the lives and properties of the citizens, he replied, that they had always persons able to afford a sufficient protection to the parish, though he confessed, at one year of the war, the youngest and ablest of them were drafted out for his Majesty's service. He also mentioned some instances of neglect and inhumanity.

The evidence then closed, and Counsellor Burston summed up the whole of their charges in a concise manner. He said that the citizens had fully proved their allegations in the petition, and hoped for redress from the wisdom of the legislature. He mentioned the grievous burden of paying near 10,000*l.* police tax, and as the duty on carriages, &c. was formerly given to the Foundling Hospital, amounting to above 5000*l.* per annum, the tax for that hospital had been since doubled on every house to make good that deficiency, which is another grievance growing out of the former, and notwithstanding other incidents, Government had advanced them 16,000*l.* That a law passed some years since for establishing wardmotes, &c. would be infinitely better to adopt, while the protection would be greater, and the expence considerably less.—The counsel then withdrew.

Mr. HARTLEY observed to the committee the monstrous expence incurred by the Police establishment, which he stated from the printed account of the receipts and disbursements of the commissioners of Police, which he then had in his hand, and was as follows :

The Police establishment for cash received from the commencement to the 25th of December, 1787.

D E B T O R.

	£.	s.	d.
To deputy vice-treasurer — —	16,000	—	—
To the four divisional magistrates —	545	4	6
To certificates of houses licensed, pawnbrokers, &c. &c. — — —	233	14	7
To cast horses — — —	57	3	3
To fines on constables and watchmen —	135	—	5
To non-effective men — —	219	—	11
To carriages, &c. for licenses and fines, per register — — —	1413	8	9
To ditto for rent payable thereon, per collector	1780	16	9
To house tax paid by the several collectors	3960	10	10
	<u>24345</u>	—	—

C R E D I T O R.

By paid several petty constables, watch constables and watchmen, to 25th December	11875	1	10
By paid horses — — —	846	—	—
By forage, shoeing and farriery — —	947	14	4½
By saddles and accoutrements for petty constables and watchmen — — —	433	7	9
By watch coats and cloaks — — —	629	15	5
By one year's salary to secretary, ending 29th of September — — —	200	—	—
By one year's salary to first clerk, ending same time £. 120 — —			
One quarter to ditto, ending 25th of December — 30 — —			
	<u>150</u>	—	—
By one year's salary to second clerk, ending 29th September 70 — —			
One quarter to ditto, ending 25th September — 17 10 —			
	<u>87</u>	10	—
By one year's salary to third clerk, ending 29th September 50 — —			
One quarter to ditto, ending 25th December — 12 10 —			
	<u>62</u>	10	—
Carried over —	13,231	17	4

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over —	15,231	19	4½
By one year's salary to accountant, ending 29th September	£.100	—	—
Ditto, ditto, for his clerk	50	—	—
	150	—	—
By seven months and four days salary to register of carriages, ending 25th December	—	54	1 8
By one year's salary to clerks in divisional offices, ending 29th September	£.500	—	—
One quarter to ditto, ending 25th December	125	—	—
	625	—	—
By one year's salary to high constable, ending 29th September	—	100	—
By one year's salary to four chief constables, ending 29th September	£.240	—	—
One quarter to ditto, ending 25th December	60	—	—
	300	—	—
By one year's salary to messenger, servants and attendants, ending 29th September	—	70	—
One quarter to ditto, ending 25th December	—	17	10
	87	10	—
By one year's rent of divisional offices, ending 29th September	—	240	—
By one year's rent of police house, ending 29th September	—	200	—
By one year's rent of watch-houses and stables, ending 29th September	—	75	16 —
By coals paid for to the 25th December	—	632	13 10½
By candles paid for to the 29th September	—	251	9 4½
By tradesmens' bills paid, building offices, stables, fitting up watch-houses, &c. &c. &c.	—	1658	19 9½
By secret service paid, gratuities and rewards	—	84	2 3
By stationer paid him for printing the Hue and Cry, stationary, &c. &c. &c. &c.	—	1797	11 5
By newspapers paid for advertising	—	253	2 8
By house of correction paid for one year's rent, ending	—	70	—
Carried over —	21,812	6	5

		£.	s.	d.
Brought over	—	21,812	6	5
By ditto paid Joseph Wall for sundry necessaries for said house	—	321	8	6½
By fines paid for police-house, and watch-house in Mecklenburgh-street	—	598	15	—
By incidents paid	—	591	18	3½
By figures for hackney carriages, &c. &c.	—	215	5	6½
By ditto paid to Lying-in-hospital	—	100	—	—
By cash advanced to Surgeon Archer	—	227	10	—
		23867	3	9½
Balance	—	477	16	2½
		24345	—	—

Mr. HARTLEY said that in this account the salaries to the commissioners, and other charges, were omitted, which amounted to near 3000l.

He then moved the following resolution :

“ Resolved, that it appears to this committee that the establishment of the police, in its protection of the inhabitants of this city, is insufficient, but its charge on the public has been enormous.”

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD went through a detail of the charges that had been adduced by the evidence, and said there was no necessity for mentioning what had recently passed, as every gentleman must be perfectly acquainted with it. As to Mr. Miller, he said, when closely pressed upon a particular assertion, he could not clear it up. Before the police, the inhabitants were obliged to form associations for patrolling the streets, which is now no longer necessary; and he knew four members of that House to be robbed in one week, no one instance of which has been since known to occur. As to wardmotes, it would only promote a spirit of electioneering, and a desire of handling the public money. The present establishment was on a much broader basis than that of the watch, as they must be ready night and day, and go on particular occasions to any part of the kingdom.

Mr. STEWART said that the police establishment was, in his opinion, both inadequate and oppressive. As to Mr. Miller's evidence, it did not strike him in the same unfavourable light it did the honourable gentleman, but on the contrary, in the most favourable manner.

Mr. FORBES paid a just tribute of merit and respect to Mr. Miller's character, whom he had long known.

Mr. GRIFFITH said that the right honourable Secretary, who had lately come over from a well regulated city, must suppose himself, from the charges brought by so respectable evidence as had appeared, to be in Constantinople, and that Janizaries let loose on the populace were our only defenders. He then adverted to a transaction that happened since the last meeting of Parliament in the courts, levelled against another member and himself, which was notwithstanding highly honourable to themselves, and ignominious to the advisers.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD declared he was one of the advisers of that measure, and was willing to abide the consequences.

Mr. HARTLEY said if he was only indulged for three days, he would engage to bring forward a plan for the protection of the city of Dublin, which would not only be highly beneficial to the citizens of this metropolis, but would also, he trusted, meet the approbation of Parliament.

Mr. MASON supported the necessity of the police establishment. He adverted to the time when the House was not only surrounded, but filled with a set of ruffians, and when peaceable citizens were dragged out of their houses in the middle of the day and tarred and feathered; and he asked have any instances of this kind happened since the institution of the police?

Mr. BERESFORD said that the committee, by passing the resolution would be subject to the imputation of proceeding on *ex parte* evidence, to condemn the police, who had not been heard in their defence.

Mr. FORBES said that the account of the expences of the police establishment, appeared to amount for one year and a quarter to upwards of 23,000*l.* exclusive of the charge of salaries to the commissioners and divisional justices for the like time, which, he observed, was not inserted in that account, but which swelled it to a sum exceeding 25,000*l.* besides law expences. He asked if there was any member in that committee, who would deny that part of the motion, "that the charge on the public was enormous?"—Having waited some time, and no answer being made, he said it was now clear that no person could be hardy enough to rise in its defence. In answer to the objection of a right honourable member, that the committee, by voting the resolution proposed, would be subject to the imputation of proceeding on *ex parte* evidence, to condemn the officers of police, who had never been heard in their defence, nor had notice of the charges that were to be made against them, he said he could not consider that objection as well founded; there had been an order made that the petitioners against the police-act should be heard by their counsel,

and have liberty to substantiate the allegation of their petition, by evidence of the nature and tendency of all those allegations; the officers of the police, in common with all the other citizens of Dublin, were perfectly informed; therefore, no objection could be supported on the ground of want of notice; but he said that the officers of the police had not offered to produce any evidence in their exculpation; he could answer for the honourable member [Mr. Hartley] who made the motion, that he would consent to withdraw it, and that the committee should be adjourned in order to afford the magistrates and officers of the police an opportunity of examining witnesses to rebut the evidence which they may consider as affecting their character and conduct. If this offer was not accepted, he hoped that the argument of proceeding *ex parte* would not again be resorted to. In answer to the objection that the evidence produced at the bar did not warrant that part of the motion, "that the police establishment, as a protection of the inhabitants, has been insufficient," as the evidence only proved, that the inhabitants had been ill-treated by the officers of the police; he said the arguments were the most singular he had ever heard—the police establishment was formed for the protection of the inhabitants—it had been proved, that instead of protecting them, the police officers had violated their liberty, persons, and properties—and could any person seriously deny, that this establishment, as a protection of the inhabitants, has been insufficient?

Mr. BURGH (Accountant-general) said, in order to get rid of the business, he would move that the chairman do now leave the chair.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I cannot pass over the police of Dublin, without animadversion. Whether the old watch, or the modern police, are most insufficient to every purpose of protecting the lives and properties of the citizens—which body most departed from the object of its institution, and most eminently failed in the execution of justice, I cannot presume to determine—it is that dull and useless contest and emulation, of worthlessness and insufficiency, which I must consign to men more experienced in the oppression of the city than myself. I perceive from the evidence before you, that robberies are as common as ever—that midnight outrages, &c. &c. are on the same footing, as under the dominion of the old watch. I perceive that the disorders of your city are in as perfect and uninterrupted vigour, as at any former period.

I recollect, that upon the first appointment of the police in 1786, that there was within a certain district a suspense imposed on outrage and robbery—but both soon returned. There is no security, no regulation under the present police, which you did not experience before, when the city was left entirely unprotected; and if I were to judge from the evidence before you, I should say, that neglect was a principle of office.

I find from that evidence, that some of the present divisional magistrates, do business only at certain times, that is before dinner: That, after that hour, the citizen, who is so importunate and unseasonable as to call on a divisional justice about the business of his office, is sure to be denied, or perhaps insulted. This was the case of Mr. Hone, who was robbed, with the connivance, as he thought, of the police, and who was rash enough to call upon an alderman at an unseasonable hour; the moment of relaxation, when magistracy is disposed to delight itself with something more amusing than the business of justice; in one of these moments, Mr. Hone, who was robbed, called on one of the divisional justices; the servant desires the importunate citizen to go to the Devil; the citizen not choosing to follow his advice, and expostulating a little on the subject about which he came, saw, as the door opened, the divisional justice who had been denied; but the citizen, who had been robbed, mistook his time for calling on a divisional justice, he called in the evening, when virtue relaxes itself and does not relish interruption from complaint of robbery, and subjects of that nature;—this is one of the many instances which have appeared before this committee, of the neglect and supineness of the divisional justices, who are paid by the public for their extraordinary activity. From the many instances which appear in evidence, from what we know ourselves, on a comparison between the old watch and the modern police, which has proved most useless for every purpose of defence, I think is a doubtful contest—but, on a comparison, which has been most mischievous, which has most insulted the persons, violated the property, and encroached on the liberty of the citizens—the modern police, surely, carries the victory. It appeared from the witnesses examined, that it was the common practice of the police to insult and abuse the citizens—to put them into the watch-house, without any pretence whatever, and to detain them there the whole night, and then dismiss them, because they had no colour or pretence, whatever, to have confined them for a moment; it appeared that the citizens had been in the course of suffering these insults from a body of men, who had been stated, in debate, to be the refuse of the community, and who were taken from the road to be the guard of the city; it had appeared that the insolence of the police was only equalled by the negligence of some of the justices; one of them was charged with having refused to discharge, or bail, a boy, the nephew of a respectable citizen, who was committed for throwing a stone, and the reason given by the magistrate for refusing bail, was, that such an offence was felony without the benefit of clergy. If such things happened in the city of London, the sufferer would have made the magistracy tremble, and if the magistracy had taken shelter under the Court, the injured citizen would have shaken the State—but in Ireland we have the British constitution, but we

have not its maxims, and we want spirit to restrain the insolence of office.

I need not go at large into particulars, which prove abundantly the insolence and outrage of the police guard, and the great and criminal reluctance of the divisional justices to punish them as they deserve. When a right hon. gentleman mentioned, that on his application against some of the police, one of the justices immediately took the most active measures, I cannot avoid, and with some concern, comparing the different effect of application coming from a poor citizen and a right hon. member, and when I see the supineness in listening to the one, and the courtly promptitude in attending to the other, I condemn and hate that partial distribution of justice which pays respect to rank, and does not pay equal respect to injury.

On this part of the subject, without going further into what is known and felt, and confining debate merely to the evidence, I am supported in saying, that the modern police, though not, perhaps, more useless, are much more mischievous than the old watch; have committed more outrages, insulted more citizens, and trespassed more on the liberty of the subject.—But when you compare the expence of the two establishments, when you find, as appears from the account, that the police in a year and quarter has cost 23,000*l.* besides about 2000*l.* for salaries not set forth in the account, but existing notwithstanding, then indeed it must occur to every man, that the old watch, though no defence, was not so great a nuisance—the citizens were robbed on cheaper terms than the inhabitants and the public now pay enormously for dragooning the city. You have heard a melancholy detail of citizens insulted, women imprisoned, and a total contempt of law by the officers of justice.

You have heard the charges which those officers of justice have made for the service they have rendered—23,000*l.* or rather 25,000*l.* in a year and half; of which 11,000*l.* are for the police men on the guard, and the remainder salaries and incidental charges, which contribute to the hours of pleasure, when a magistrate is not to be disturbed by the importunity of justice. Conceive this city paying such a sum as appears from your paper, and receiving such treatment as appears from the evidence.

A right hon. gentleman has said, that the evidence was only *ex parte*; 'tis true, and if the resolution went for the prosecution of that justice who refused to discharge a boy on bail, on supposition, that throwing a stone was felony, without benefit of clergy, I certainly for one, should have wished to have heard the alderman explain that matter. But when the motion before you is not personal, and only goes to condemn the police—and when a proposal has been made by one of the representatives of the city, to postpone the question until the divisional justices shall be heard, and that proposal declined—will any man call this *ex parte*?

evidence? If the right hon. member says, you cannot from particular grievances of abuse condemn an establishment generally—there is something of logic in his idea, but nothing of politics; How could the city prove the insufficiency of the police in general, but by producing particular instances of citizens neglected and outraged? but the member forgets, that it is not merely the evidence of as many as you would listen to, but it is the petition of 7000, who all protest against the police, as a measure prodigal and oppressive, and prove their general allegation by particular instances of outrage on oath; but these instances do not prove so little as that the citizens are neglected—no, they prove, that they are abused by their guard—they convict the police of committing those outrages which they are enormously paid to prevent or punish.

When first this establishment was proposed, in the shape of a bill, I opposed it—I foretold, at that time, that the police-men would be bad soldiers and bad citizens—I did not, but might have added, that they would be bad watchmen—I added, that the bill, inadequate, I apprehended, to establish the peace of the city, would totally destroy the freedom of the corporation; that, in fact, the Court was taking into its own hands, the regulation of the city, for you can consider the magistrates of the police, in no other light than the servants of the Crown, and the police as a regulation under the Court, instead of what before took place, a regulation under the Corporation—What has been the effect of this change?—you have silenced the Corporation, you have secured the minister's peace in the city, but you have not secured the peace of the city itself—the bill has not been inadequate to all its objects, it has destroyed the independence of the Corporation—it has done so by an immense patronage. I therefore originally, objected to this bill, formed to secure the number of votes not lives, and to extinguish in the city, not robbery, but public spirit.

That a bill could be framed in a few days, as the representative of the city has mentioned, free from the objections and expence of the present police, is indubitable. There is nothing in the way of such a measure, except a desire to preserve the patronage which protects the present bill, and also protects the scandalous abuse of authority, which have taken place under this bill, and to which a number of respectable witnesses have borne testimony, and one of them, an old friend and school-fellow, who has been alluded to in this debate, and without reason—Mr. Miller, a scholar, a man of zeal in the public cause, and a clergyman of worth, against whom nothing can be advanced, except that, with all his diligence, he has gotten, as yet, no adequate provision in the church.

On the question being put that the chairman do now leave the chair, the committee divided,

Ayes,	—	—	100
Noes,	—	—	41

The petition from the inhabitants of the city of Dublin paying taxes, relative to the police, of course fell to the ground.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON moved, that the particulars of the charges made by the commissioners of police, for hue and cry, and stationary, &c. &c. and for incidents, be laid before the House.

Mr. Secretary FITZHERBERT said he thought the motion ought to be complied with.

The motion passed unanimously.

Mr. CORRY reported from the committee to whom it was referred to take into consideration the bill for reducing the interest of money to five per cent.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said the bill was now going up to the Lords, from whence he trusted it would never return. He said that though Government, much to their honour, left it to the free discussion of the country, without any interference on their part, yet violence had been used—a gentleman had been forced to vote in that business contrary to his opinion—[The House called to name him]—He said he did not think this necessary, and therefore desired to be excused.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN declared that he thought the right honourable baronet extremely out of order. He had mentioned a circumstance to give weight to his argument, and when called upon by the House to prove it, had declined giving that satisfaction which the House had a right to expect: However, he would allow no weight to that circumstance, unless the House was satisfied upon it. The right honourable baronet was also extremely out of order in saying, that he hoped any bill would never return from the other House of Parliament, but more especially a bill which related at all to money. Did the right honourable baronet suppose, that such a threat would prevent the Commons from proceeding in the measure?—or did he not know that they were the peculiar guardians of the money of the people, in which no other branch of the legislature could interfere?—But it was manifest that the right honourable baronet did not understand the situation of this country as well as those gentlemen who promoted the bill; it was impossible he should; he was too new a man in the country; he was too new a man to contend in a knowledge of the interests of Ireland, with them whose ancestors were coeval with the soil.—For my own part, said he, two and

twenty years ago I brought in a bill similar to the present, in which I had not the satisfaction to succeed; from that time to the present day I have studied the subject—I had prepared myself to speak on it in the committee; yet, though I think it the strongest and the best measure that ever was undertaken for the benefit of this country, I had not the presumption to attempt rising to offer any thing to the irresistible and unanswerable arguments of the gentleman I now address [the Speaker.]

The question was then put, that the report be now received, and was carried without a division.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1788.

A petition of Thomas, Patriek and Andrew O'Reilly, of the city of Dublin, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners have expended a considerable sum of money in erecting buildings and machinery for smelting iron ore with coak, and also forges and refineries for rendering the metal malleable, and finishing it suitable to its various uses, the whole operation to be performed with pit coal; that petitioners undertaking is the first of the kind that has ever been introduced into this kingdom, and has therefore been prosecuted at a very extraordinary expence, and when completed and extended will be a great national saving, being established in the vicinity of the inexhaustible iron and coal mines in the county of Leitrim; and therefore praying encouragement.

Several bills were read a second time, and then the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1788.

A petition of John M'Kenley, gaoler of the county of Dublin, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that by a late act of Parliament, the county of Dublin Road-act, the grand juries of said county are restrained from allowing a larger salary to the gaoler than 25l. a year, though the grand juries of every other county in the kingdom are left at liberty to allow such salaries to their respective gaolers as they may think proper, by Gaol-act, 1784; that it is an evident matter of fact, the gaoler of said county has a greater trust reposed in him, and has infinitely more trouble and expence attending the proper execution of his duty, and is obliged to give larger security to the several sheriffs of said county than any other gaoler in Ireland, and from the great number of prisoners constantly in his charge, he is

obliged to keep a great number of servants and turnkeys under him; that it is absolutely impossible for the petitioner, or any other person, properly to do his duty in said office, on a salary so very inadequate to the expence and trouble attending said office; and therefore praying relief.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN moved for leave to bring in a bill, for the better ascertaining the tithes of flax and hemp. He said, he had twice brought in similar bills, which had miscarried in another place; it was thought improper for the Commons to lay their sacrilegious hands upon any thing claimed by the clergy, and therefore the bills had fallen. He hoped, however, that that frictness did not now exist, and as the bill would certainly prove beneficial to the clergy as well as to the laity, he had strong expectations of seeing it pass.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said the gentlemen who had supported the bill for reducing interest were now called upon for another bill, which would greatly tend to promote the good effects of the first—namely, for a bill to enforce the punctual payment of interest on private loans; he therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill to enforce the payment of interest on private loans.—Leave was given.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill for granting bounties to certain manufactures, Mr. Mason in the chair. When a clause was read continuing the former trustees,

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) said he could see no reason for departing from the former practice, which was, to ballot for the trustees every session. He was well convinced that the same gentlemen who had hitherto acted so much to the general satisfaction would be again chosen; but as he wished to preserve the form of election, he would propose that they should be balloted for.

Mr. MASON explained the order, which he said was, if any member disliked the paragraph just read, that he should put a negative upon it, and if it was rejected he might then propose a ballot.

The question was then put upon the paragraph, and the committee having divided, there appeared,

Ayes,	—	—	33
Noes,	—	—	25

The House resolved into a committee of the whole House, upon the bill for regulating prisoners fees, Sir Hugh Hill in the chair. When the first paragraph was read,

Mr. GRIFFITH reprobated the bill, as being utterly repugnant to the principles of our constitution; which, he said, abhors the idea of granting a discretionary power to judges, or any other persons, to inflict punishment upon the innocent. If the clerks of the crown, gaolers, &c. could only be maintained by an unjust imposition of fees upon people acquitted by their country, better they were not maintained at all; but he was well convinced some method more consonant to justice, and the principles of the constitution, than that proposed by the bill, might easily be devised; and therefore he wished as soon as possible to stop the bill in its progress; to which end he would move that the chairman do leave the chair.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON said he thought it an extreme hardship on the counties to be obliged to present for the fees that ought to be paid by the culprits themselves; were innocent men only to be exempted he was ready to consent; but when he saw the same person tried repeatedly, perhaps a dozen times, though acquitted, he could not deem him innocent; and must think it a hardship on the county to be obliged to present the greatest sum of fees on account of the greatest rogue.

As to the bill itself, he thought it did not deserve the censure passed upon it. It proposed that for the first trial the party acquitted should pay no fees; for the second, the jury, at the recommendation of the judge, should present the fees on the county, and for every other trial the party should pay his own fees; this, he thought, would be giving the innocent fair play, inflicting a very small punishment on men of doubtful honesty, and greatly ease the counties.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he must oppose the bill upon principles of constitution and humanity. The bill which he had introduced, and which this bill proposed to repeal, had been suggested to him by that ornament of human nature, Mr. Howard, a gentleman who did him the honour of his friendship. At the time of Ireland's emancipation, that gentleman was here—Now, said Mr. Howard, “manifest some gratitude to Providence; let not the wretched, though innocent prisoner, remain in his gloomy dungeon, after he has been acquitted by his country, until he pays fees, which are an unjust tax, that he may never be able to discharge.” He accordingly introduced the bill alluded to; and though the honourable baronet had every succeeding session endeavoured to get it repealed, he was now as well convinced of its justice and propriety, as he was on the day he introduced it.—However, he had in contemplation a plan, which he hoped would give satisfaction to the honourable baronet: That was, to take an annual average of the fees received by the clerks of the Crown, &c. for seven years before the passing of the bill; and to allow them an annual salary, equal to the average so taken; for he well knew

that of late a practice had been introduced, of splitting charges into a multitude of indictments, in order to multiply fees upon the counties.

The question being put, that the chairman do leave the chair, the committee divided,

Ayes,	—	—	28
Noes,	—	—	25

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1788.

Sir HUGH HILL reported the bill for amending the Police-bill.

The several amendments made thereto were twice read, and agreed to.

The SPEAKER put the question, that the bill be engrossed.

Mr. GRIFFITH said, that there should be some obligation on the magistrate to attend early in the morning, in order that persons innocent or bailable, should not be kept in custody. He moved that the Divisional Justice be obliged to attend at nine o'clock in the morning, under penalty of 20s. The clause passed.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM declared that he would oppose that bill in every stage of it, because the protection and taxation contained in it, did not bear a due proportion; that it was a bill framed for the purpose of rendering the metropolis a borough dependant on ministerial influence; but he was sure, that there still existed so much spirit among his fellow-citizens, as would ensure the remnant of the freedom of election. By this bill, he said, our ancient guardians were become the engines of our slavery; they had betrayed their fellow-citizens. He opposed the bill for continuing a tax on that part of the county of Dublin, called the barony of Donore, as that barony had no protection, but was burdened with taxes to support nominal watchmen; it was rather oppressive, that that barony, which never had riots, assaults, or robberies, should pay men, who never visited them; that their peace and quietness arose from not having any police among them; that the clause subjecting publicans to the caprice and villainy of police-men, was unexampled and cruel. He explained this hardship, and called on the House to remedy it—He said, the House would now pass a bill of penalties and pains, that would disgrace a Turkish Divan.

The question was then put, that the bill be engrossed, which passed.

Mr. ANNESLEY observed, that he had given notice on a former day, that he should, in the course of the session, move for leave to bring in a bill, to restrain the Banks recently established in the towns of Belfast and Newry, from issuing guinea bank notes; but as the session was so far advanced, he should postpone bringing forward that measure till the next session of Parliament.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1788.

Mr. MOLYNEUX said, although it might bear something of an invidious appearance to move a resolution concerning the gentlemen now in custody of the Serjeant at Arms, yet as he could aver that he did not know who those gentlemen were, he hoped he should be acquitted of any invidious intention in moving, "That the Serjeant at Arms be directed to lay before this House, on Monday next, the names of such members as shall be then in his custody, not having paid their fees."

The question being put, it passed unanimously.

Mr. ANNESLEY presented to the House, according to order, a bill for making a navigable canal from the town of Mallahide, in the county of Dublin, to the river of Fieldstown, in said county; which was received and read the first time.

Alderman WARREN presented to the House, according to order, a bill for explaining and amending an act passed in the nineteenth and twentieth years of his present Majesty George III. entitled an act for explaining and amending an act passed in the fifteenth and sixteenth years of the reign of his said Majesty George III. entitled an act for the better regulating the pipe-water of the city of Dublin; which was received and read the first time.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL presented to the House, according to order, a bill for using the court-houses of counties at large and counties of cities; where situate within the precincts of the same counties, for the purposes of both counties; and for declaring that gaols for counties at large, situate within counties of cities, shall be deemed part of such counties at large; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of the owners and keepers of job carriages and job horses in the city of Dublin, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that by an act passed in the eleventh and twelfth years of his present Majesty, the petitioners were obliged, before they could obtain a license for keeping or letting for hire such job coach or job

horses, either by the year, month or day, to pay the sum of five pounds for every such license, and also the annual rent of forty shillings; that by another act, passed in the last session of Parliament, there was a monthly tax added to the above of sixteen shillings, making in the whole the sum of eleven pounds twelve shillings by the year, exclusive of the five pounds paid on taking out the license; that the petitioners have been ever since paying the said tax, which has almost ruined them and their families, and would cheerfully continue to pay the same if in their power; that petitioners beg leave to inform the House, that upon the institution of job carriages and job horses the petitioners expended almost their entire properties, and, though now in a state of perfection, the institution must inevitably fall to the ground if the petitioners are not relieved by the House, as many of the nobility and gentry who employ the petitioners reside only some months of the year in Dublin, and on leaving town discharge petitioners carriages and horses, and others only choose to keep job coaches or job horses at particular periods of the year; in the intermediate time the petitioners are deprived of all means of making any profit, though obliged to support and keep up their horses and carriages, and to pay eleven pounds twelve shillings by the year; and therefore humbly submitting the matters above stated to the humane consideration of the House, in humble expectation that they will be pleased to reduce said tax to the sum of four pounds by the year, which is double what the petitioners formerly paid, and which humane indulgence the petitioners respectfully apprehend will not at all diminish, but considerably encrease that part of the carriage revenue, as the petitioners and many others will thereby be enabled to continue the present, and set up complete job carriages and horses, who now are and will be rendered incapable of so doing as long as the above heavy grievance shall continue, and many of the nobility and gentry will be very much inconvenienced by the petitioners being unavoidably obliged to lay aside their carriages and horses.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that there could not be a fairer object of taxation than job carriages—they worked for profit, and very few trades were so profitable.

Mr. TRENCH presented the report and resolutions of the committee for considering the Lying-in Hospital petition. He said they had examined evidence in the most solemn manner; that the facts were matter of accounts; no conclusion was drawn, but it was necessary they should appear on the record of Parliament, to justify some disagreeable measures that must soon take place. He said the trustees had applied for general relief; they did not sue for any grant or sum from Parliament, or any additional duty, income or tax, on the public. They brought (as to market) a

duty of 440*l.* per annum, which they prayed to exchange for a fair equivalent in debentures at four per cent which would have compleated their objects, and not encumbered the public; this seemed reasonable. But some difficulties were started; the amount issued would appear in the ensuing year, as an expence of the present Government, and the equivalent paid might be forgotten. It had then occurred, that when seven parts in nine of a duty were possessed by a corporation, the two remaining could be no great object. The police were amply provided for in the new licences; the collection would be more effectual if the objects were united. No precedent could be adduced, for no claims could be similar. The amount was too trifling for a national consideration. The objection could be only matter of private opinion, yet this inconsiderable amount would have prevented extremities that he foresaw with regret; but he declined pressing a measure that was not adopted by an Administration whom he respected. Licences for play had been suggested; he thought restrictions of that nature might be useful; but as it had not the full approbation of the gentlemen of the country he should decline it.

Having therefore discharged his duty to the public, by endeavouring to ward off inconveniencies that would unavoidably take place, he declared he should relinquish that subject for ever in Parliament, having in the report and resolutions established the most unequivocal justification.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) complained, that from the improvements which had last session been made in the gallery of that House, its capacity of accommodating auditors had been very much diminished. The gentlemen of the University had long enjoyed the privilege of attending to hear the debates of the House, but now, from want of room, that privilege had become merely nominal. He was well aware, that the right hon. gentleman who had ordered the improvements to be made, had done so with the very best intentions, and with a small addition the effect of accommodation might easily be produced. He had, he said, consulted an architect, who had pointed out a way by which a much greater number of persons than can be accommodated at present might hear with great convenience. He would therefore move "That a committee be appointed to inspect the present situation of the gallery, and to report whether any and what improvements may be made therein."

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he saw no reason for going to any new expence; the improvements of the House had been conducted under an authority that every one approved; and in his opinion, the gallery was perfectly commodious.

Mr. ROWLEY said he highly approved of what the Speaker had done to render the House commodious in various instances, but above all he approved the alteration and improvements that had been made in the gallery.

Mr. BERESFORD called to gentlemen's recollection, that one of the first standing orders of the House was the exclusion of strangers; the House had generally winked at the breach of this rule, and had acted liberally in so doing; but he thought that the hon. gentleman should be satisfied with this conduct, and the indulgence the House was willing to give to strangers, and not persist in moving a resolution in the very teeth of a standing order.

Lord DELVIN said that the present gallery of the Irish House of Commons was six times as large as that of the English House, and, considering the difference in the number of constituents, the people of this country had nothing to complain of on that account.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he was fully convinced that the improvement of the gallery was intended for the accommodation of the public, and so far as the present space would admit, it was certainly more commodious than the former gallery; but the public were willing to suffer the former inconvenience rather than be excluded. But, said he, why not adopt a mode suggested, of admitting a greater number of the constituent body, by means of an addition to the present improved plan? He thought it very hard, that after all the profusion of expence which the country had patiently borne, oeconomy should begin just where the people were to be gratified. England had been adduced as an example, admitting but few persons to hear her debates—he hoped, as there seemed a determination not to copy the perfections of England, the House would not copy her defects.

Mr. ROWLEY said he most perfectly approved the present state of the gallery, and the care that was taken in admitting none but proper persons; were he to wish for any alteration, it would be to make the gallery still smaller, and then they would not perhaps have such large or so many speeches, and if one sex was excluded, it was certain, he said, that the House would often break up many hours earlier than it does, as the desire of shining before them, too frequently led gentlemen to substitute luminous orations for rational debate.

Mr. GRATTAN said he had no idea of calling in question the dignity of the Chair, as every man must see that what had been done, was much to the accommodation of the public; he wished only to extend that accommodation to a greater number of the

people, who upon every principle of the constitution, he thought had a right to be present at the debates of their representatives.

Mr. MASON said of all the improvements which the Speaker had made, he gave him most thanks for contracting the gallery, and he imputed the present decorum and propriety of behaviour in the audience, to the very proper caution used in their admission.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said there was not in the world a College containing 737 young persons so well behaved as the College of Dublin; their conduct was most excellent, their attention to science and learning as great as ever distinguished youth in the most virtuous ages. A right honourable gentleman might refer to parliamentary order, but those young gentlemen would be apt to refer to the order of Rome or Athens; where the people, particularly the youth, were always admitted to hear the debates of the senate; and, said he, I protest most solemnly, I think it would do this assembly no harm, were they constantly to suppose, that the eyes of posterity were fixed upon them. Admit then, the youth of the nation to be present at your debates, they will catch the fire of patriotism from you, and you will remember the old adage, "there is great reverence to be paid to the presence of a boy."

The House divided on the motion,

Ayes,	—	—	30
Noes,	—	—	98

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH.—Though I was one of those who voted against the motion, yet I would wish as many of the constituent body as possibly can be accommodated should hear our debates, and I wish that those who hear them would report them truly; having said so much I shall now take the liberty of postponing a question which I promised to bring on to-day, if the honourable gentleman, whose amiable and disinterested conduct gains such general approbation, should think it would interfere with the question he now proposes to offer to the House.

Mr. FORBES said early in the session he had taken the liberty of mentioning to a right honourable gentleman, high in the confidence of Government, an intention of bringing in the bill he was now about to introduce; but that right honourable member, for reasons which it would be presumption in him to enquire into, was silent upon the subject; he was therefore under the necessity of bringing in his bill unsupported by the right honourable gentleman.

He then presented to the House, a bill to disable any person from being chosen a member of, or from sitting or voting in, the House of Commons, who has any pension during pleasure

or for any number of years from, or holds any office or place of profit created after a certain time, under the Crown, and to limit the amount of pensions; which was received and read the first time.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, as the sense of the House had been so often taken on this bill, and as it had been so often argued, that he believed no new argument could be started on it, he would, to shorten the debate, move that it be read a second time the first of August.

MR. CONOLLY said neither the situation of the country, or that of the pension list, were the same they were when this bill had formerly been rejected; since that time the pensions had increased, were increasing, and certainly ought to be diminished; and certainly if Government was in earnest in their professions of œconomy, they would let the bill go fairly forward to discussion; if they resisted the bill he never would believe their professions to be sincere. We have, said he, a numerous and rising royal family; to their support the country would be proud to contribute. England has many worthy old servants, both civil and military; to those men we should not grudge a subsistence, but to have 100,000*l.* a year squandered on the unworthy, or bestowed as the reward of corruption, is a grievance the country could not bear; and if the Minister would agree with Parliament to set limits to this profusion, he would find himself sit much easier in the seat of Government than if he should resist it.

MR. FITZHERBERT said he had declined taking a part in support of the bill for many reasons; one was, that he thought it in much abler hands; another, that the present time did not demand it. The House had, he observed, given credit to the present Government for their intentions of œconomy—intentions to which they would most rigidly adhere. Suppose then, said he, the bill to pass, what construction would such a measure bear? Would it not be as if the House should say, we have great confidence in the present Government, we are convinced of their integrity, and we believe they will pursue the interest of the kingdom; we therefore lay them under restrictions, which we never imposed on any other Government. Then suppose I was to concur in the bill, what construction would my conduct wear? would it not be saying this—You have expressed great confidence in Government, but I who know them better, desire you not to trust them.

Sir, the prerogative of the Crown to bestow marks of approbation upon such subjects as have distinguished themselves by their merits, is one of its dearest rights. At present I see no pressing necessity to deprive the Crown of this right, and therefore I shall not concur in the bill.

The Honourable DENIS BROWNE declared his confidence in the professions of Government, and said he was going to mention a conversation he had with the Chief Governor, when he was reminded by an honourable member that mentioning the name of Majesty or Viceroyalty in debate was out of order.

He said he would not mention the name of the Lord Lieutenant, but he was present when two gentlemen, call them by what fictitious names you please, had a conversation on pensions, and one of them, who possessed the power of granting pensions, said, that he would sooner put his hand into the fire than grant a pension on any but the most justifiable ground, and such as every honest man must approve.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he held it very unparliamentary to mention the name of the Chief Governor to influence debate. The right honourable gentleman might have spared himself the trouble of doing so, for the actions of the present Government are their highest panegyric. I am one, said he, who have expressed my full confidence in Government, and am convinced I shall not find myself mistaken; but as Parliament is the great council of the nation, and as even the most inconsiderable member may suggest something useful, I beg leave, with great humility, to offer one word of advice. When Government looks over that list, let them enquire name by name, let them endeavour to know the persons whose names appear there, and let them learn what their merits are; suppose it appears that 400*l.* a year are annexed to the name of any member of this House, and that no particular cause can be assigned for the grant, may it not be conjectured that it was made for his services in this House, and if so, an additional pension is unnecessary, for he that has 400*l.* a year for his vote, will not refuse voting though he were to be refused 400*l.* a year more.

Mr. CURRAN said he owned he had a strong curiosity to know how the discourse between the two persons whom the honourable gentleman [Mr. Browne] had alluded to, concerning pensions, had arisen; he suspected that the strong expression used by the great personage, could only have arisen from the necessity he found himself of resisting some very pressing solicitation.

Mr. BROWNE.—I am now going to make a declaration, in which I challenge the learned gentleman to follow me, and which I believe he would be very sorry to do. I do declare that I never did solicit any Chief Governor for place, pension or emolument; and further declare, that I never will accept of any such from any present or future Lord Lieutenant.

Mr. CURRAN said that as to himself he was neither angry nor disappointed enough to make such a declaration.

The question was then put, that the bill be read a second time the first of August. The House divided,

Ayes	—	—	103
Noes	—	—	40

Mr. FORBES began with stating the particulars of an address which he intended to move, all of which, he observed, were founded on facts to be collected from the journals of the House, or authentic documents on the table; he adverted to the vote of 140,000l. new taxes, for the purpose of equalizing the revenues to the expences of the nation; that so far from that equality being effected, it appeared by the report of the committee of accounts this session, that the excess of the public expences above the income was 180,000l. that the extravagant amount of the pension-list was one of the principal causes of this excess; as it was 96,289l. on the 21st of January, 1788, exclusive of military pensions, a sum greater than the pension list of England, and equal to half of the charge of the civil establishment.

That by the accounts laid before the House this session it appeared, that pensions had been granted during the Administration of the late Lord Lieutenant to the amount of 26,000l. of which 9000l. were in lieu or exchange of pensions, which had been granted by former lord lieutenants; but that a sum of 17,000l. had been granted during that period in pensions, which was a new charge on the establishment, and the act of the late Administration.

He then mentioned, in terms of severe reprehension, the practice of bartering pensions, and of inserting young lives in letters patent in the place of old lives, and by that means preventing a diminution of the present pension-list, by this system of perpetual renewals. He said that when he demanded from the servants of the Crown in the finance department in this kingdom, the causes for granting many pensions lately, to a considerable amount, they declared their total ignorance of the transactions; there was no person in this country responsible for the application of the public money; and that such a responsibility was one of the most essential privileges of the British constitution; without it we could not be considered as possessed of any security for the good government of the country: and he took this opportunity of giving notice, that he should next session offer a bill to the House for the purpose of creating a responsibility in the servants of the Crown in this kingdom; at present the only authority under which the Vice-treasurer paid any money, was a king's letter, countersigned only by the commissioners of the treasury in England.—He further observed, that at the commencement of the late Administration the sum of 2000l. was added to the salary of the Chief Secretary, in order to enable him to support the dignity of the situation, to prevent the injury of his private fortune, or his being a

dependant or burden on our establishments; a very considerable sum was lately expended, not only in the purchase, but also in the improvements and repairs of an house for his accommodation in the Phoenix-park—the first effect, he had reason to apprehend, which the liberality of the Commons to the secretary would produce, was, a pension to the person who filled the office of Chief Secretary to the late Lord Lieutenant; and that to a greater amount than by the law of England can be granted to any one person. He protested against this measure as a dangerous precedent; if that person, after his conduct as minister of this country, after placing pensions to a greater amount on the establishments than any of his predecessors for these last twenty years, was to be rewarded with an enormous pension, he did not see an obstacle to a claim for a similar provision being made with success, by the present and all future secretaries.

He said he was sorry to hear the ostensible minister avail himself of precisely the same arguments, which his predecessors had used for these last ten years, when they rose to oppose any reform in the pension-list. He trusted the minister would excuse his acceptance of the old and hackneyed argument of confidence in administration, which he had offered against any efficient measure being adopted in respect to pensions. When he stated to the right honourable member what an immense sum that argument had cost this nation, he trusted that the gentleman would not expect that he should rely on it as a security against profusion. From the year 1773, to 1776, confidence in the Administration of that day had cost this nation 100,000*l.* in new taxes, and 440,000*l.* raised by life annuities. In 1778, confidence in the Administration cost 300,000*l.* in life-annuities; a sum granted for the purpose of defence, and which produced on an alarm of invasion, one troop of horse, and half a company of invalids. In 1779, the then secretary, for the purpose of opposing a measure, for relief against the abuses of the pension-list, read in this House an extract of a letter from the Secretary of State in England, expressive of the determination of the then English ministry, not to increase the pension-list, confidence was placed in the Administration of the day, and it cost the country 13,000*l.* in new pensions granted by the same secretary. In April 1782, on the arrival of the principal of the new Administration, confidence, in the first instance, was neither asked nor granted; certain measures were proposed by the Commons and the people—they were granted, and the country was emancipated. In 1785, confidence in the Administration of that day, cost Ireland 140,000*l.* new taxes, to equalize the income and expenditure; but the grant produced 180,000*l.* excess of expences. The same confidence cost 20,000*l.* per annum for a police establishment, which it has been proved at your bar, contributed to the violation instead of the preservation of the peace of the metropolis. The same confidence cost

the nation last year 10,000*l.* charged for buildings and gardens in the Phoenix-park; in fine, we place near two thirds of the national debt to the account of confidence in the Administration of the day—therefore, he advised the present ostensible minister not to suffer even the suggestion of such an argument to approach him; it was of such a rank and bad odour, that it would taint his political character and system, and make every respectable man in this House and nation, to turn away his face from the minister and his measures.

He observed, that after all other efforts had proved ineffectual to restrain the abuses of the pension list, the permanent security of law against those abuses had been proposed; and what was offered by the secretary that night as an equivalent? The verbal assurances of the minister of the day, whom perhaps he should never see in the House after this session; and who certainly will not remain in this kingdom to settle the accounts of the last, and most important year of his administration. We are asked (to use a memorable expression) to accept as a substitute for the certain and infallible security of a law, the fallible and fugacious responsibility of a secretary. But it had been argued, that the present was a good Administration, that no person suspected that they entertained intentions hostile to this country; therefore this was not the season for proposing laws for securing the independence of Parliament, or the revenues of the country from violation. He called the attention of the House to the dangerous tendency of this argument. He said, he believed every man would admit, that good laws could not be obtained under a bad government; but the argument just stated had gone to prove, that good laws ought not to be proposed under a good government; if therefore good laws could not be obtained under a bad government, nor proposed under a good government, this argument proved, that they could not be obtained at all. An argument tending to stake the existence of the liberty and property of a nation on the personal virtues of one man, is better suited to a good tyrant than a constitutional governor. He stated the fatal consequences which must have ensued, if, after the revolution, such an argument had been resorted to by King William, when laws were proposed for securing the rights and liberties of the subject—yet no prince or governor was better entitled to rely on the argument of confidence in Government than the deliverer of these countries from oppression and tyranny! And for proof that the law he proposed was a good one, he referred the House to the experience of England for near a century; and to the acts passed in that kingdom in 1782, and since, to give fuller effect and operation to the principles of the laws passed immediately after the revolution on the subject of pensions and places.

He said that on the first day of this session the House had voted, that the Administration of the late Lord Lieutenant was a

wife and steady one. If pensions to such an enormous amount were added to the list during such an Administration—if the many and flagrant abuses appearing on that list could not be prevented, even by a wise and steady Administration, could relief, in this instance, be expected from the present Administration? Did they arrogate supernatural powers, or lay claim to greater merits than that of a wise and steady Administration? Distinguished as the Duke of Rutland was by many private virtues and honourable principles, is it to be supposed that these abuses would have been committed, if certain measures had not been forced on him? an event which could not have happened if he had been protected by the law now proposed. He said that precisely the same servants of the Crown, who were in the confidence of the late Administration were confidential with the present. Could it be suspected that any of those servants of the Crown would have acquiesced under those abuses, if they had power to restrain them? and he asked, if there was any talismanic influence in the patent creating the present Administration, which could either invigorate the mind, or alter the principles of those servants? He observed, it did not require much sagacity to foretell, that notwithstanding the good intentions of the present Administration, it would be impossible to restrain the abuses of the pension-list by their personal exertions. One of the first acts of the present Administration, was to be a charge on the establishment, of a pension, to an enormous amount, to the Principal Secretary of the late Lord Lieutenant. It was declared by the friends of the present Government, that this measure was forced on them by the English ministry. Must not this circumstance convince every person, not only of the impracticability of those abuses being restrained by the personal exertions of the present Irish ministry, but also of the absolute necessity of the law proposed? If such a law was now in existence, the Irish minister could answer the British cabinet, that he was incapacitated by a law, similar to that in Great Britain, from effecting such a measure, and refer them to our statute-book, to prove that no pension exceeding 300*l.* per annum could be granted to any one person, till the list was reduced to 80,000*l.* and after the reduction, no pension greater than 1200*l.* to any one person. Thus the revenues of the country, and the honour of the Government would be at once secured. He said he would admit the exertions of the present Chief Governor, to effectuate economy; his great assiduity and vigilance, which might proceed so far, that the Viceroy might keep in his own possession the keys of all the subordinate treasuries in the kingdom; nay, he might not even suffer a nail to be driven in a public building without his licence; all these exertions might produce temporary, but not solid and permanent advantages to Ireland. He asked if there was another nobleman to be found in England, possessed of the patience and perseverance, to

descend to the minutest detail in official business, in the manner which the present distinguished character at the head of our Government did?

He said that the personal abstinence of the present Viceroy from abuse and depredation will, probably, produce this effect; it will give a respite of two or three years to our revenues, till they are replenished and pampered in a degree, which may render them a richer feast for the rapacity of his successor; who will owe his capacity to abuse, to the resistance offered by the present ministry, to the passing of a law for his restraint; therefore every man must be convinced of the expediency and necessity of substituting a legal incapacity to abuse, in the room of a casual interference to restrain. By consenting to a law, as a barrier against the ministerial encroachment of England, and the corrupt importunity of Ireland, the present Chief Governor would acquire a degree of character and confidence in this country, more permanent than any temporary popularity; for his political celebrity will grow out of the history of his Government, and not depend on any accidental ebullition of the public mind.

He entreated the ostensible minister, that he would not persevere in an opposition to every measure proposed for the redress of the great abuses which he had stated; as such a conduct must deprive him of the confidence of the people; who would not fail to interpret his conduct in a very unfavourable manner, and would be induced to suppose that he had risen, in his place, this night, and avowed that the British ministry consider it as inconsistent with the good of his Majesty's Government in Ireland, or the system of his Majesty's ministers in England, to restrain corrupt importunity, or abolish abject dependance in this kingdom; and that he had it in instructions to discourage the vain and speculative idea of a right in Ireland, to participate in the benefits of salutary measures adopted in England, or the expectation that a system of good government is to be extended to every branch of the British empire—that they further stated to the ostensible minister, that the apprehensions of a general election in England, obliged them to affect economy; but in Ireland they had confidence in the number of the friends of prodigality, which was become systematic in that country. Therefore, they added, as you tender the welfare of the present English ministry, do not suffer the sources of public corruption in Ireland to be impaired.

He said he was far from even insinuating that such had been the speech of the right honourable member, yet he was certain that such sentiments and language would be imputed to him by the people at large. He concluded with stating, that as Administration had objected to a law, as restraining the prerogative, he should move, as a measure, the next in point of efficiency, an address to his Majesty, stating the various abuses in the pension-list, and praying that no addition might be made to it, till it was

reduced to a certain sum. He said that this measure would arm the present ministry with power to resist applications for pensions, as they could refer to this address, and the king's answer granting the prayer, entered on the journals, by which the Chief Governor would be restrained. He accordingly moved :

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty to express our inviolable attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and our zeal and readiness to maintain the establishments of this kingdom, in an amount adequate to the support of his Government, and the dignity of his Crown.

“ That having taken into our consideration the income and expenditure of the nation, we find ourselves obliged by our duty to his Majesty, to lay before him certain abuses and misapplications of a considerable portion of the public revenue.

“ That this House, determined to put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt, and to raise the revenues of this kingdom to an equality with the establishments, did in the session of 1785, unanimously vote new taxes, estimated at 140,000*l.* per annum, and have continued these taxes in the present and intervening sessions ; that the charges of the establishments, instead of being equal to the revenues, have exceeded considerably the national income in the year ending Lady-day 1786, and that the excess of the expences on the net revenues in the year ending Lady-day 1787, was 180,000*l.* That the improvident disposition of the public money in the article of pensions, is one among many other causes of that excess.

“ That the list of pensions on the 1st of January 1788, appears to have encreased to the amount of 96,289*l.* per annum, exclusive of military pensions, and charges under the head of incidents on the civil establishment, and additional salaries to sinecure offices, both of which are substantially pensions ; a sum greater than the pension list of England, nearly equal to half of the charges on the civil establishment, even in its present enlarged state, and exceeding by 7000*l.* in one year, the charge of pensions on that establishment for two years, ending Lady-day 1757, when the Commons unanimously voted that charge an improvident disposition of the revenue, an injury to the Crown, and detrimental to the public.

“ That the pensions placed on the civil establishment since the 24th day of February, 1784, exclusive of those granted in lieu or exchange of former pensions which have ceased, amount to 17,000*l.* per annum—that many of the pensions have been granted to members of this House during the pleasure of the Crown, in violation of the principles of the constitution, and the honour of the House of Commons.

“ That his Majesty's servants in Ireland are ignorant of the causes and considerations which induced the grants of other pen-

sions within the above period, and amounting to a considerable sum.

“ That a system of bartering pensions lately established, is become an object of universal complaint ; that the pernicious consequences of this barter, extend even further than an abuse of the royal bounty, and an injury of the character of the Parliament and Government of this country, as it involves the practice of changing the names of persons, for whose lives pensions were formerly granted ; of substituting in the place of those who are advanced in years, the names of very young persons, and of continuing the pensions for the lives of such young persons—a practice which must effectually prevent the diminution of the present pension list, and perpetuate a charge that is one of the greatest burdens on the establishment.

“ That at the commencement of the Administration of the late Lord Lieutenant, the sum of 4000*l.* was added to the salary of the Chief Governor of this kingdom, and 2000*l.* to that of his Principal Secretary ; that notwithstanding this increase of salaries the sum charged for one year, ending Lady-day, 1787, as expended on buildings and gardens in the Phoenix-park, is nearly equal in amount to half the salary of the Chief Governor, exclusive of the charge incurred since Lady-day, 1782, of 43,936*l.* by purchasing houses in the Park for the accommodation of the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary, and by paying salaries and other expences attending the Park ; and to the above sums are to be added, two annuities or pensions, making together 750*l.* granted for lives, and charged on the establishment, for the purpose of completing the purchase of houses in the Park for the Chief and another Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.

“ That we cannot refrain from expressing our apprehensions to his Majesty, that the first effect produced by the liberal grant of his Commons, in support of the dignity of the situation of Principal Secretary, will be a charge on the establishment of this kingdom, of a pension to the person who enjoyed, under the Government of the late Viceroy, the great and various emoluments of that office—a measure, which we deprecate, as pregnant with a two-fold evil to this country—an immediate increase of the public burdens, and an established precedent for similar charges in future.

“ That we have reason to apprehend that such pension is to be so enormous as to exceed considerably the sum which, by the laws of England, can be granted to any one person for a like purpose, either at the present or any future period.

“ That the pensions granted during the period in which he was confidential Secretary, considerably exceed the amount of those placed on the establishment during the Administration of any of his predecessors, for the last twenty years.

“ That after all our efforts to restrain the gross and repeated abuses in the disposition of pensions have proved ineffectual, and our expectations from the promises of œconomy on the part of his Majesty’s ministers have been uniformly frustrated, we have one certain resource in his Majesty’s wisdom and justice; and we rest assured, that we shall obtain relief in an instance in which we are peculiarly the objects of his Majesty’s protection, as the sole authority, under which the servants of the Crown in this kingdom place pensions on the establishment, is derived from his Majesty’s letters, countersigned only by Commissioners of the Treasury of England—officers who, from their situation, cannot be responsible to this House for their conduct in the application of the revenues of this country. That united with Great Britain, by the ties of common interest as well as mutual affection, we supplicate his Majesty, as the common father of his people, graciously to permit his faithful and loyal subjects of Ireland to participate in the benefits of the salutary regulations adopted in Great Britain for the reduction of public expences; and we firmly rely on his Majesty’s paternal goodness, that he will not suffer his faithful subjects in this kingdom, to endure the signal mortification of observing in the conduct of his Majesty’s ministers in England, continued exertions to establish a permanent system of the strictest œconomy, as far as relates to Great Britain, but of experiencing in the arrangements of the same ministers respecting Ireland, an uniform disposition to sanction unbounded profusion. Having thus, with all humble submission, in discharge of what we conceive to be our indispensable duty, laid before his Majesty the state of the abuses and misapplications of a considerable portion of the public revenues, we most humbly beseech his Majesty, for redress thereof, that he will be graciously pleased not to grant a pension exceeding the sum of 300l. per annum, in addition to the amount of pensions on the civil establishment, on the 21st of January, 1788, to and for the use of any one person, and that the whole amount of the pensions granted in any one year shall not exceed the sum of 800l. until the whole Pension-list be reduced to 80,000l. nor any pension granted after the said reduction to or for the use of any one person, shall exceed the sum of 1200l. per annum, except to his Majesty’s Royal Family, or on an address of either House of Parliament.

“ That the abuses in the pension list had, by long acquiescence, acquired such a degree of strength as to render the many private virtues and acknowledged constitutional principles of our late Viceroy in this instance, almost inoperative and inefficacious; and we have too much reason to apprehend, that even the good intentions of our present Chief Governor will be frustrated, unless his Excellency’s exertions to effectuate the system of œconomy are aided and supported by his Majesty’s gracious and decided interference,”

Mr. CONOLLY.—I do most cheerfully and heartily second the motion of my hon. friend; and I do so the more, because his first motion was treated with neglect, which nothing that comes from him could merit, and because the law proposed by him, being a part of the British constitution, was denied to this kingdom. It is in vain for this country to seek for redress, as the same gentlemen are always consulted upon the arrival of a new Viceroy and his Secretary, the same measures recommended, and at any rate an indemnity granted for the past. The right hon. Secretary has been informed of, and has adopted the old system of governing this country. Does he imagine that gentlemen of equal knowledge, worth, and integrity, are not to be found on this side of the House? I could venture to affirm, that they are, and that this kingdom could be governed at half its present expence.—But as this side of the House has no other way of communicating their sentiments to Government, it has gone into a true state of facts for your information, and that of the people. Facts that could be proved at your bar, not to the satisfaction, but to the mortification of the public.

By the bad government of America, Great Britain has lost a great part of that continent; by the rapine and plunder of her Governors in the East Indies, she had nearly lost that country, which could now only be secured to her by the justice and wisdom of her peers. I should be to the greatest degree unhappy, if by the continued oppressive and bad government of this kingdom, she should be led to speculate about a change—I shudder at the thought, and hope that by permitting the same economy to be adopted here, as is reported to be going on in Britain, and by allowing this kingdom the same salutary and constitutional laws, for the defence of her liberty and property—that time may never come; and that she may be permitted to be governed by the men of the first property and character, who cannot be but interested in her welfare, and not by those who live by, and laugh at her plunder; that she may be governed by men, who when they make laws within doors, are fore from the good opinion of the public, to have them executed without.

Captain BURGH said the most natural way of treating the huge composition that had just been read, would be to let it lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, for it was composed of such various and heterogeneous matter, that no man was prepared to say whether the facts were true or false; they might be either from the cursory reading it had got. He doubted much whether its statements were true, but he was very certain they were long.

Mr. MASON said that he should not attempt to follow the hon. member through that volume of miscellanies which had just

been read, but should advert to that part of it only which related to the great increase of pensions, alleged to have taken place under the Administration of the Duke of Rutland, and which, in fact, amounted to no more than 10,000*l.* as the hon. member who moved the address well knew; although from the manner in which it is worded, the public might possibly be led into a mistake, and suppose that it amounted to 17,000*l.*

He acknowledged that the sum of 10,000*l.* was a very great increase in so short a time; but he asserted that more than one half of that increase was in consequence of the addresses, on the previous approbation of the House, of the pension of 3000*l.* a year granted to Lord Pery, and that of 2,500*l.* a year granted to Mr. Gerard Hamilton, in order to bring back to this kingdom the office of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a measure which has already proved of such signal advantage to the country. These pensions, he said, amounted to 5,500*l.* and that therefore it was evident, that of the increase of 10,000*l.* during the Duke of Rutland's Administration, 5,500*l.* should be placed to the account of the House of Commons, and 4,500*l.* only to that of Government.

He said that it was easy for any gentleman who wished to expatiate on the enormous increase of pensions, to single out some particular period which would answer his purpose; but to put that matter in a fair light, he should state to the House the amount of pensions on the 21st of January last, compared with the amount of them at Lady-day, 1777; it appears from the papers on the table that the amount of pensions on the 21st of January was 96,289*l.* that the amount at Lady-day, 1777, was 88,245*l.* so that there was an increase on the 21st of January of 8044*l.*—But there had been granted within that period, in consequence of the proceedings of the House, a pension of 800*l.* a year to the Gamble family—one of 2000*l.* to the family of Lord Chief Baron Burgh—one of 3000*l.* to Lord Pery—and one of 2,500*l.* to Mr. Gerard Hamilton—amounting in the whole to 9,300*l.* and exceeding by the sum of 1,256*l.* the whole increase of pensions in more than ten years and three quarters, ending on the 21st of January; so that if the House had not called upon the Crown to grant these pensions, instead of an increase of 8,044*l.* there would have appeared on that day a decrease of 1,266*l.* He concluded by calling upon any gentleman to controvert his statements if he could, and appealed to the candour and good sense of the House, whether under these circumstances the increase of pensions was so enormous as to justify the measure that was then proposed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—It was a wise principle of parliamentary order, that every proposition which is introduced for discussion should be as simple as possible; but I be-

lieve there never was so complicated or confused a business brought before any House of Parliament, as that which is now offered by the honourable gentleman. No man can say whether what it states be fact or not. It consists of an hundred different assertions. It asserts that his Majesty intends to grant a certain pension. Who knows that he does? It says that his Majesty's servants are ignorant; which is neither very true nor very civil. It says that the expences of Government have increased; the fact is otherwise—for this year they have fallen 10,000*l*. It assumes and states abuses contrary to fact and to the expressed sense of Parliament; and then it calls on the House to pledge itself to an hundred things at once. It next goes into detail, and calls measures improvident which were done under the special direction of the House. It says, our pension-list is greater than that of England, though I believe the honourable gentleman would be hard set to shew that fact, and yet he calls upon the House to affirm it: It charges the late Lord Lieutenant with additions to the pension list, which were incurred by Lord Northington: It proposes to the House to censure its own act, in providing a residence for the Lord Lieutenant. In short, I do not know what it does not assert or propose, but I know that such a farrago was never offered to any assembly.

But the great jet of the resolution is to throw a censure upon the former Secretary. Sir, I maintain that a more honest man, a more faithful servant of the Crown, or a more zealous friend to this country never held an office under Government; I know he was a man of truth and virtue, and whether he is to get a provision or not, I am sure he deserves it. His zeal and attention to the welfare of this country had nearly cost him his life, and greatly impaired his fortune.

Mr. CORRY said the substance of the question before the House was, whether the expenditure of the late Administration deserved censure or not. It would be unpardonable, he said, in him, on a ground which he had so often gone over before in the detail, to enter into the particulars of the address, or to involve the House in figures. No man could justify the profusion and expences of the late ministry; and he was one who thought it his duty to join in expressing his disapprobation of it in the extreme. He would not detain the House longer than to say, that he gave the motion of his honourable friend his hearty support.

Captain BURGH moved the question of adjournment.

Mr. CURRAN expressed his indignation at the motion for adjournment on such a subject, and at such a time. He described the situation of England and Ireland, with respect to pensions. He stated the public revenue of Ireland, as specifically appropriated by several acts that created it; in defiance of which acts

the public funds had been uniformly applied in paying the wages of public prostitution. He did not wonder it should have been so, while that list remained unlimited by law. He observed on the depression of the people, and the consequent low state of their representation. Government here had been supported, not by an unrepresented people, but by a few proprietors of those unfortunate members of Parliament, who were hired or transferred for the benefit of their owners, and who stood not as representatives, but as plunderers, between the people and the Crown. Hence, he said, enormous levies were extorted from the subject; yet thieved from by the numerous hands they passed, small was the pittance that made its way to the real service of the state. All the public service had ever got was the scanty relics of private profligacy and spoliation. The oppression, he said, was aggravated by the characters of the greater part of our former Governments—without talents, or independence, or virtue. Yet notwithstanding, he said, our ancestors had made struggles under these oppressions, when they were much smaller than they are. He read from the journals the resolutions of the House, which stated the then amount of pensions as an improvident and unconstitutional waste of the public treasure. He then adverted to the present time—that list had now swelled to near 100,000*l.* a greater burden on this poor country than Great Britain, with all her resources, thought herself able to endure. He stated the present diffusion of knowledge in Ireland; we were become more a people, more sensible of our wrongs, as well as of our rights. The public were taught to look up to the present Administration. He dwelt on the splendor of their entry and their reception, and the public applauses given them in advance. The people had been flattered with the hope of general œconomy and reformation.—The public barque, tossed for years on a deluge of venality and corruption, thought at length, it found an Ararat to rest on—and hailed the bird that approached it as the harbinger of respite and of safety. He could not but lament, he said, that these fond presages were of so short duration. But unless the public was infatuated, he said, they must feel that their applause and gratitude were premature. He feared the right honourable Secretary had been rather precipitate in taking the part he did, and so ungraciously, in subjects that regarded only our internal regulation. On such occasions, he could not see the wisdom of committing the character of an Administration—yet the right honourable member had done so; he had done so by the personal part he took with respect to the South of Ireland. Though an utter stranger to our situation, his foot scarcely dry upon our shore, the first proof he gave of his sagacity and humanity, was the dismissal, the rejection from our bar, of a wounded and a supplicating nation. The right honourable member's exploits were not less distinguished in the North. That city that stood eminently distin-

guished for her bravery and attachment to the constitution, was, by a single dash of a clerk in office, disfranchised, without even the formality of enquiry or accusation—her rights were then offered on degrading terms—and the base boon was spurned at with a spirit worthy of Londonderry! And after all, as if this stretch of power was exerted merely to trifle with the constitution, her rights were restored without even being demanded.

But, he said, Administration had, perhaps, intended some amends to the extremes of the kingdom, by treating the metropolis with still more signal outrage and contempt. This city, that had given every test of confidence and affection in advance, petitioned against an odious institution formed for the purpose of influencing the fordid corporation and over-awing the citizen; her charges were heard, and proved—we saw the load of expence—of brutal outrage—the general abhorrence; and yet this shameful fund of patronage and oppression was retained and extended. He then stated the complaints of public extravagance and violation of the constitution in the late Administration, and asked, which of these had been discontinued or remedied in this? As to the late Viceroy, he respected his personal virtues, and lamented his fate—his ministers ought to mourn over his hearse, but he could not suffer either them, or his measures, to find shelter under his pall. He then begged leave to bring into view, to the right honourable gentleman, the grievances stated in the proposed address, and the professions of this Administration. He had put himself upon a ground, from which he could not recede without bringing either honour or ignominy on the present Administration. The people could not be so grossly imposed on, as not to see that an instance or two of rigour against the delinquency of individuals, was no better than partiality and oppression, if not followed further. The point of the present address was a demand of the constitution of Great Britain—a law to limit the amount of pensions like her's—a law to preserve the purity of Parliament like her's—a law to check the corruption and presumption there—if he opposed such a law, he would sink his own character and that of his Principal lower than the meanest of his predecessors. He was shocked, he said, to hear the right honourable gentleman declare, that he thought the limitation of pensions a violation of the prerogative. Where did the honourable gentleman learn that it was not the glory of prerogative, to be supported, and to be restrained by law? Or where did he learn that the prerogative of the father of his people consisted in leaving, at the discretion of an Irish Secretary, to confound the base and the worthy—to encourage and reward every human turpitude—to pamper the worthless, and to plunder the industrious? He said, the present Administration were bound to adopt the address by their professions, and by their interest, if they meant to govern this country with honour to themselves. The country

would support an upright Administration. It would be supported by every man of real worth, and talents, in that House. He then directed his address to the gentlemen of consideration, on the other side—he knew their sensations at that moment—he knew the feelings of virtue, and of shame, that were struggling in their breasts—he knew the principle on which many of them held places, the emoluments of which they despised—but they held them from the well-grounded fear of their falling into baser hands; he therefore called upon them to redeem themselves from the awe in which their honour was held, by the venality of the mean and contemptible—he conjured them to redeem themselves from the shame of sitting with such associates, as went into that House for bread—who voted for pay—who, not daring to utter their own sentiments, yet, presumed to utter those of the people, whom they were hired to betray. He insisted on the various grievances stated in the address, and he concluded with beseeching the House not to add to the mortification of the people, by preventing their grievances from being heard by their Sovereign, by whom they are unredressed, merely because they are unknown.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) apologized for speaking on so exhausted a subject, as he had never uttered a word on it before, not even so far as to declare he would never take a pension. However, having persuaded himself at least, that he was adequate to making and keeping such a promise if necessary, and might venture into the right honourable gentleman's book [Sir Henry Cavendish's] he wished to persuade other gentlemen to coincide. To speak in favour of œconomy in that place was certainly a desperate task; no less than to endeavour to persuade a very considerable part of that House to relinquish a very considerable part of their incomes: To prefer accusation to the accused themselves, and beg of guilt to pass its own sentences. He recollected but one similar instance, which was of a college of Cardinals, who entreated a Pope to burn himself, and what was odd the Pope did it; let who can here flatter himself, that he will prevail on gentlemen to fine and amerce themselves for their offences. What can give spirit to an address on the subject? Why, the hope that repeated efforts will at length ensure success—the sense that these attempts controul, if they do not amend; the hope that there may be somewhere a latent spark of virtue, that will catch the flame; some generous vibration of the mind that will harmonize to the stroke; that we may recall perhaps some one sinner to repentance; but even if these hopes were vain, who could sit silent, and hear futile and hacknied objections without reply. *Indignatio facit versus.*

We are first told, said he, in the language of Macbeth, “you cannot say, we did it.” No! but we say, you suffer it. You

are guilty of omiffive injuftice. You look on, and fee the wrongs of others. What does this language amount to? The abfence of pofitive injury is made a claim of merit. The vices of former Adminiftrations are fet up as pleas in bar to the virtues of the prefent. You defend yourfelves not on principles of reafon, but on principles of ancient depravity.

Next comes the argument of promifed œconomy, as yet it is in promife—but fuppofe it fulfilled, œconomy is not retrenchment—it is answer at crofs purpofes. We complain of intolerable paft and exifting expences, and you promife future œconomy. We ask you to lighten our burden, and you answer—it fhall not be encreafed!

The royal bounty, fay gentlemen, is not to be reftained.—No! let there be fund fufficient for the reward of merit, and the indulgence of the Sovereign's affection. We wifh not to reftrain, but to defend the Crown—to defend it from venal rapacity, extorting, by an abufe of a power given by the people, an income which is neither the premium of fervice, nor the offspring of affection.

It is faid, if you limit the pension lift, it will always be filled up to that limit. That, he faid, had been provided for by his friend's bill. There was no reafon why it fhould be filled to that limit. But, if unlimited, it would probably be always far beyond it.

That no new taxes had been impofed, was a great boaft, but the expences had exceeded the revenues, although 140,000l. had been obtained by a kind of pettifogging finance, on a condition of equalizing expence to income. But before this feflion, the invention of taxation had been almoft exhausted, nor can we thank men for not proceeding further, when perhaps the difability of the nation made it impoffible. Taxation had refted upon every fail that wafts our commodities abroad, had clogged the wheels of juftice, had crept into the cabin of every peafant, in the fhape of licence, had threatened the neceffaries of life, and the foundations of manufacture—had defcended to the meanefi objects, market women, and butcher's boys—brothels and night houfes—places which the grave Commiffioners of the Revenue would not fuffer their fervants to vifit, and which none but a police-man was fit to enter. The world had pitied the Chancellor of the Exchequer for all the dirty ideas of taxation, whofe tranfit he was forced to fuffer over his mind.

But how is the abfence of new taxes an answer to the charge of prefent extravagance? That does not prevent the people from feeing that many of the prefent taxes are unneceffary. They are not the purchafe of victory, nor of peace, nor of commerce—but of corruption!—Bribery runs in different fapes—all tantamount to pension, through every item of the public accounts. It is impoffible to catch this eel of pension by the tail. Some-

times it glews itself to the concordatum—or falls into the incidents—or happens, Lord knows how, to be in the military contingencies—or creeps into a bag or basket in the Court of Chancery—or it turns to a political snail, and after having dragged itself a sufficient time through its own filth, creeps into a house; or extravagance becomes a gardener and makes gravel walks, or a confectioner, and shelters itself in an icehouse; and then comes a little hobbling œconomy, but so shabby and so paltry, that every one is ashamed to keep company with it, except some poor beggars in the House of Industry who want a roof over their heads, or some wretched woman who wants a little concordatum, or some poor petitioner for parliamentary bounty, or some religious people who want a place in which to pray. But much parade about this wretched œconomy, much sounding of the praises a parsimony of Government; a little dwarfish œconomy stands on the battlements, merely to tell what gigantic prodigality lives within the castle; and then great exactness in the accounts, first millions, and then shillings, pence and farthings. Myriads of gold are strewed over the rich extensive fields of prodigality, and you attempt to hide the waste behind a heap of farthings.

He proceeded to notice the objection, that the pension list had been in a great measure filled, in consequence of parliamentary addresses; he said it was not true as to one-fourth. The distinction between such pensions and the rest was evident; no one complained of that part of the catalogue; so far it was the roll of fame. As far as it is filled with the objects of public reward, or of the Sovereign's love, said he, we do not complain. If it is decorated with the bright honours of naval or of military glory, let the laurel of victory shade it from every withering glance. If we see in it the names of any branch of the Royal House of Brunswick, we rejoice in our Sovereign's joy, and are glad that every gem about his throne should sparkle in its purest brilliancy. If this House had shewn its veneration for any illustrious shade, for virtue immaturely extinguished, or long and faithful domestic services, honour, and fame and gratitude shall weep over the name, and wipe out the base objection of any calumniator. There is another, the mourning maiden, nursed in hope, sacrificed in the ravages of death to poverty and disappointment, daughter perhaps of one you all loved. She too has a claim supreme, and her tears should be wiped away by public tenderness. These are figures that start from the fond, and meet every eye: but who are they that follow? Men whose merits, and whose claims are unknown. Whose very existence is dubious. Who mock the eye of scrutiny, and defy investigation.—George Charles and such like. And then come a numerous band, well known indeed, but known by disgrace, and degradation; the public and professed depen-

dants of the Crown, rewarded without service, and distinguished without honour. Those Pedarian senators who follow the minister in his goings out and his comings in; the movers of the previous question, and the movers of adjournment, and the fathers of perplexing amendments, and the tribes that lie in ambush to call sincerity to order; and the starlings that are taught to vociferate question, question. What claim have they to appear in the table of public liberality? What exploits have they performed? What political wisdom shewn? What fatigues have they undergone, save the watchings of political campaigns, or the coming down from the convivial board, at a late hour of night, to obey the mandate of corruption. Unworthy and humiliating state. Voting without opinion, and supporting councils which they neither guide nor know. There are among them, men who if they had once looked back on the sullied fragments of hereditary honours, ought to have despised such wages. If fortune, sufficient to feed all the wantonness of riot, if fortune, and not the soul made men independent, they would have been independent. But they had not pride enough to be poor. It requires much pride to be poor. Pride that bears so much the stamp and image of virtue. Pride so often the guardian of male as well as female honour. Pride itself is dead. We ask not virtue. We would be content with pride. Let them enjoy their wretched wages! One thing they cannot have, and that is the respect of the heart. Respect, like love, is to be wooed, not commanded. It defies the power of interest. These feelings depend not on ourselves. So Heaven has ordained, for the punishment of avarice, and of ambition, that the movements of the human heart defy the power of man.

He then alluded to Mr. Orde's expected pension of 2000l. a year. This he observed was a delicate subject, lest he should seem to glance at the memory of a generous and gallant man, whom we all deplore, whose heart must have disapproved of many measures that stole his name, if he had not been deceived by bad ministers, till life had vanished like an idle dream. Of this his minister, he was free to say, that he appeared to him to have led on a train of measures, arbitrary and insidious. That he endeavoured in the infancy of commerce, to ensnare the unwary stranger, and in the same net to entrap the constitution. That by attacks on the liberty of the press, of the subject, and of Ireland in general, he was constantly carrying on a kind of predatory war against our dearest rights. That he stood up boldly, and avowed the mischief, and said *adsum, qui feci*. A witty friend of his had well observed, that he should have added, *in me Fraus omnis*. He came forward, with a ridiculous plan of education, which even his own friends now laugh at, and with a contempt for the erudition of the country, which but shewed his own ignorance, and

the shallowness of his observations on that country. This man, he thought, was not an object of public reward.

He observed on the mischiefs occasioned by pensioners sitting in the House of Commons. The broad basis of confidence, between the people and Parliament, melts away. It is in vain to attempt any improvement in a house thus constituted. Let argument come forward, with all the strength of truth, in the armour of eloquence, it falls harmless on their golden shields. They receive it with truly Muscovite insensibility. The abject troops of the minister have conquered, and will conquer again, not by the energy of active war, but because they are insensible of stripes and wounds. To reduce the enormous influence of the Crown in a House so constituted was impossible. Even in another country, where pensioners lay under many restraints, which they have not here, the attempt which was boldly made had met with the fate of the fabled matron, who, encountering the imperial power of Jove, perished in the flames which herself invited.

He professed himself a friend to the present minister, [Mr. Fitzherbert] for whom he had personal respect, and whom he wished to defend from rapacity, and from those fat rogues, who say, "rob me, the King's Exchequer."

He declared he aimed at no man in particular by any thing he had said, but, in general all. Nor had he attacked that generous exertion, which endeavours to raise itself with honour, (such exertions were natural and generous) but that mean servility, which is willing to rise by any means—at any price. Nor did he wish to restrain the royal bounty, but to prevent its being abused by those who extorted an income, that was neither the premium of service nor the offspring of affection.

The question of adjournment being now called for and put, the House divided,

Ayes,	—	—	108
Noes,	—	—	40

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1788.

A petition of the sessions grand jury of the city of Dublin was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners are much concerned to find a measure revived in Parliament for erecting turnpikes on the several roads and avenues to this metropolis, leave being given to bring in a bill for that purpose, notwithstanding such has before met with the strongest marks of disapprobation from the inhabitants of the county and city of Dublin; that if such bill should pass into a law it will be attended with the most oppressive consequences to the citizens and manufacturers of the city of Dublin, and operate as a tax upon their

health and convenience, and in its tendency become a grievance to many thousands of industrious tradesmen, as by the payment of turnpike rates the various necessary articles of life which are daily brought into this city, will of course be raised in their price, whereby the citizens and working manufacturers will become extreme sufferers under such unnecessary law; and therefore praying relief.

Mr. KNOX presented to the House, according to order, a bill to empower justices at their quarter sessions to determine in a summary way all disputes between party and party for any sum not exceeding the sum therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the more effectually preventing deceits and frauds in the manufacturing of cordage for shipping, and to prevent the illicit importation of foreign-made cordage.

Also a bill for the better ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax.

Which were received and read the first time.

Mr. MOLYNEUX moved the question of adjournment.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said he hoped that the House would not now adjourn. That some time ago leave had been given to a right honourable gentleman to bring in a bill, for erecting turnpikes on the different roads leading to the city of Dublin; which the right honourable gentleman had delayed bringing in, and on Monday last he had given notice to that right honourable gentleman, that if he did not bring in his bill on a specific day, he should move for the order of leave to be discharged, and he then promised that he would bring it in on this day; in consequence of which several gentlemen had come down to the House, and as the right honourable gentleman had been in the House and left the bill on the seat behind him, and as the subject had been discussed over and over again, if the right honourable gentleman did not immediately make his appearance, he should move that the order be discharged.

Mr. OGLE (pointing to the bill) asked was there no one to own it? Was it thrown on the public, without any one to father it? [at this moment Mr. Gardiner made his appearance.] Oh! said he, here comes its father.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said it was absolutely necessary it should be presented without further delay, in order that the members might have time to consider its merits.

Mr. GARDINER said he had been in the House of Lords, where a subject of importance was then debating; and where a great

number of members of the House were at that moment; he wished to have the bill discussed in a full House, but from the present complexion of the House, he should postpone presenting his bill till Monday.

Mr. WESTBY expressed his astonishment that the right honourable gentleman would persevere in a measure which had been so often reprobated, and so often rejected; for his part, he said, he should give the bill his most decided negative, and in doing so he should feel himself highly gratified, as the wishes of his constituents and his own sentiments perfectly coincided in respect to the measure proposed by the right honourable gentleman.

The question of adjournment was now put and negatived without a division.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD then moved that it be an instruction to the committee who were appointed to prepare the said bill, to bring in the same forthwith.

Mr. GARDINER said, if the honourable Baronet would consent to withdraw his motion, he should present his bill.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD consented to withdraw his motion.

Mr. GARDINER then presented a bill for the improvement of the principal avenues leading to the city of Dublin, by establishing turnpikes thereon; which was received and read the first time.

He then moved, that the bill be read a second time on Monday next.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said he should not insult the understanding of the House, by taking up their time in entering into the demerits of the bill, which was the same in its principle as the bill rejected in 1785, 1786 and in 1787, and he should therefore move that the bill be read a second time on the 1st of August next.

Mr. GARDINER declared, for his part, he was no way interested in the measure, but the landholders of the county of Dublin were assessed 2s. an acre to keep the roads of the county in repair; and, he said, there was not a city of its magnitude in Europe, that has such shameful avenues leading to it, as the city of Dublin has. He said gentlemen opposed the bill without having any thing to propose to substitute in its room.

The question that the bill be read a second time on the 1st of August next, was now put and carried in the affirmative, with only one dissenting voice.

MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1788.

Mr. DENIS DALY said he rose to present a petition on a matter so interesting to the House, and which, he was persuaded, demanded their attention so much, that he doubted not they would give it the greatest consideration. He would only observe, that the petition did not at all interfere with the act of Parliament for trying the merits of contested elections. He then moved the House to receive the petition of John Maxwell, Esq.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said that if the petition went to reflect in the least on the determination of the committee, on the Cavan election, it would be an attack on the rights and privileges of that House, and the receiving the petition would be contrary to the usage and law of Parliament.

Mr. CURRAN said that as the select committee derived from law an independent jurisdiction, and as their decision was final, so their proceedings ought to be free and uninfluenced; but if the House should resume a power to review their proceedings, or in any wise to censure their conduct, there would then be an end of all freedom in their proceedings, and consequently of all the advantages of the Grenville law. If any members would be mean enough to act on committees under such circumstances, they would be biassed by that which might happen to be the prevailing power of the House; and decisions on contested elections would hereafter be as little regulated by law or equity, as they had been previous to the passing of Mr. Grenville's law.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said it is true, the decision of the committee is final; but suppose the petitioner was not suffered to produce witnesses, or to go into evidence, suppose the committee had locked themselves up, or acted in an arbitrary manner; suppose it should appear that the merits of the election were never tried at all, would not the House even hear the allegations of the petitioner? Nay, was it not possible that Mr. Maxwell might have a case so strong, that Parliament might pass an act for his relief?

The question was put that the petition be now received, and negatived without a division.

A petition of William Somerville, Esq; was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioner on the 28th day of June, 1784, was seized by virtue of a lease of lives with a covenant for perpetual renewal of several houses and grounds situate in Abbey-street, Drogheda-street and Henry-street, in the city of Dublin; viz. nine houses in Abbey-street, from number 132 to number 140, both inclusive, the entire west side of Drogheda-street, a part of Prince's-street, and the ground rent

of six houses in Henry-street; that the said houses and grounds were then in the actual possession of the petitioner's under-tenants, who held the same under leases made by the petitioner's ancestors near a century ago, at a moderate rent of 111l. 13s. 4d. for the whole concerns; and the terms demised by said leases were then nearly expired; that on the said 28th day of June, 1784, the commissioners for making wide and convenient streets, caused two juries to be sworn at the Tholsel of the city of Dublin, pursuant to notice in the public papers, for the purpose of valuing the petitioner's interest in the premises; that on the 27th day of October and 24th day of November, 1784, the said juries, after due and proper enquiry, respectively met and valued the interests of the petitioner in the said houses and grounds to the sum of 7007l. 10s. and 360l. 6s. 8d. making in the whole the sum of 7367l. 16s. 8d. that the petitioner shortly after the said 28th day of June, pursuant to an order of the said commissioners, furnished them with a state of his title, which was approved of, and at the same time, pursuant to their order, the tenants leases were handed over to the agent of the said commissioners, and are still in their custody; that the said commissioners had caused a valuation in like manner to be made of said tenants several interests, as will appear by the inquisition had on the occasion in the hands of their agent, if necessary to refer to same; that it is now upwards of three years since the said houses and grounds were valued, and the petitioner has not received the purchase money or any part thereof, or any compensation or interest for the same, which he humbly conceives to be a peculiar grievance to him, as it appears that the value of his interest, ascertained in manner aforesaid on the said 27th day of October and 24th day of November, principally depended on the future rise of the rent after the expiration of the subsisting leases, some of which would expire in six years after the said valuation, therefore his interest would encrease in its value every year in a very great proportion; that the petitioner is not only injured by not having received the appreciated value, but the commissioners having got an absolute dominion over the tenants, some of them having suffered the houses to fall down, and neglect to pay the old rent, nor can the petitioner, circumstanced as he is, enforce the payment or the performance of the tenants covenants; that the petitioner hath frequently applied to the said commissioners for relief in the premises, but they never granted him any, pleading that they had not a fund sufficient in their hands; and therefore praying relief.

A petition of the corporation for promoting and carrying on the Tyrone navigation, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the canal from Lough Neagh to Coal Island in the county of Tyrone has been always supported by grants of money made from time to time either by Parliament or by the

navigation board, and that there never has been any toll collected from boats navigating that canal, neither do the petitioners think it would be judicious to levy a toll which must of necessity fall principally on coals, and thereby counteract the good effects of the premium which Parliament in their wisdom have thought fit to offer for the encouragement of national collieries; that if the House shall please to grant 120*l.* per annum out of the funds for carrying on inland navigations, the commissioners of the Tyrone navigation are ready to contract to keep the said navigation in constant good condition, they will account regularly for the expenditure of the same, and will engage never to levy any toll from boats laden with Irish coals; the petitioners beg leave to refer to the report of the committee of the House which sat in the last session of Parliament to enquire into the state of the Tyrone collieries and navigation, from which it appears that the prosperity of the linen trade in a great part of the counties of Tyrone, Derry, Antrim, Down and Armagh, does entirely depend on the collieries in Tyrone, and on an easy and effectual communication being kept open between those collieries and Lough Neagh; the petitioners further beg leave to observe that by the bounty of Parliament a steam engine has been lately erected at the collieries of Drumglash, which fully answers the most sanguine expectations of the proprietors, but that unless an easy communication shall be kept open from thence to Lough Neagh, the public never can be in any considerable degree benefited thereby; the petitioners therefore submit the premises to the consideration of the House, praying that they may make such order thereon as to them shall seem meet.

A petition of the common brewers of the district and city of Cork, and also of the principal towns in the county of Cork, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the act passed last session of Parliament in this kingdom, entitled an act for the better collecting of his Majesty's revenue, and for the continuation and amendment of several laws heretofore made for that purpose, has been productive of every desirable advantage, by advancing his Majesty's revenue, promoting the petitioners trade, and improving the quality of their manufacture; that the excise on beer and ale in the district of Cork for the six months commencing the 24th day of June last past (from which day the said act was in force) until the 24th day of December last, exceeded the excise for the same space in the year 1786 by a sum of 800*l.* and upwards; that since the commencement of the said act the beer and ale brewed by the petitioners are considerably better and more universally consumed, and that the clause restraining the petitioners from giving credit has been of manifest advantage, and stands distinguished for its utility; that the petitioners humbly hope for some legal regulations for the admission of persons intending to become

brewers, and also that the chief commissioners of his Majesty's revenue, or any three of them, shall be empowered by law to refuse license to any persons for brewing beer or ale, and also to annul or withdraw the license of any common or retailing brewer in like manner as by an act passed in the 26th year of his present Majesty's reign they are empowered to do with respect to retailers; that by continuing this act the petitioners would not have any other mode of procuring custom or business than by purchasing the best corn and other materials, and improving the quality of their manufacture; and therefore praying the House to continue the said act of last session, with such amendments as therein mentioned, and also with such other amendments as the House may think proper; and in case it may not please the House to make the said act binding on the whole kingdom, that the same shall be made local for the city and county of Cork, the principal brewers of the latter having expressed their wishes to be included therein; and also that all malt liquor brewed in or brought from any other district of this kingdom into any place or district bound by this law shall be sold under the same regulations, terms and prices as the brewers of the district (in which the purchaser thereof lives) are obliged to observe.

A petition of George Roe, keeper of his Majesty's gaol of Newgate, with a certificate of the Lord Mayor, Recorder and Sheriffs of the city of Dublin annexed thereto, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that some person preferred a complaint to the honourable committee for regulating gaols, respecting one Charles Walsh, a turnkey, keeping an ale-house in Green-street, which was kept by Walsh's wife, or some person for her, but as said Walsh did not attend or interfere therein, the petitioner, until lately, did not discover same; but on the petitioner being informed it was improper to have such, he immediately gave notice to said Walsh he would discharge him, notwithstanding the petitioner humbly submits he could not have prevented said Walsh's wife from keeping a house where she thought proper, and petitioner takes leave to assure the House that he will use the utmost care and vigilance in future to prevent any such, and will not admit any person employed about said gaol to keep any ale or beer-house; that the petitioner, as soon as he discovered same, would have instantly discharged said Walsh, but that he could not obtain a person for said employment whom he could entrust with the care of a number of public offenders, many of whom charged with forgeries and other capital offences, and several under sentence of death, particularly as the petitioner on a recent occasion (*viz.* that of the late unfortunate Mr. Keon) received the strongest proofs of said Walsh's care and good conduct, having rejected the offer of a large sum of money, and whose attention, good behaviour and diligence can be testified by the right

honourable the lord mayor, sheriffs and magistrates of this city ; that petitioner begs leave to explain to the House as to the charge made respecting some journeymen pin-makers, who are confined for several acts of combination, and receive ample support from other persons of said trade concerned with them ; the apartment, which is a spacious room, was rateably set down by the lord mayor and city committee at the rate of 1s. 1d. per night for each and every person sleeping therein, and in which the petitioner fixed two beds, with other necessary accommodation, which at first contained six of said pin-makers, but from the encrease of prisoners other parts of the gaol became crouded, when three others of said pin-makers earnestly besought to be their companions, and have a lodging in the said room, and in compliance with their repeated request the petitioner went to the expence of also putting up two other beds for their accommodation, so that nine persons were in said apartment at 4s. 4d. per week each, amounting to 1l. 19s. but which number petitioner would not have admitted together but at their desire, and from the incomplete and unfinished state of said gaol petitioner had no other place to keep them in ; the petitioner, however, on being informed that said persons could not pay for said apartment, has entirely remitted to them, not only a charge now due for same, but has declared he will not demand or receive from them any further weekly rent during their confinement, although the petitioner labours under the greatest distress by his salary and presentments remaining unpaid, and petitioner is notwithstanding obliged to lay out and advance several large sums of money for supplying said gaol and prisoners with coal, straw, candles and other necessaries, and which sums are detained and remain undischarged for the term of one, two and more years, which he humbly represents as a great grievance under which he labours, and hopes for redress from the House ; that if petitioner had intermeddled or caused to be moved the body of any person dying in gaol without a coroner's inquest being first held, he would be liable to punishment, and all that he in such case could do was to apply to the coroners, who were at that period, being Whitsuntide, out of town, which the several superintendents of said gaol well knew ; that as he humbly hopes he has hitherto conducted himself in a becoming manner in his department, he is emboldened also to hope and solicit the accustomed humanity and indulgence of the House, and he will by his future conduct prove that no cause of complaint shall again appear before the House, as he will discharge such persons as have been the occasion of such complaint.

We, the Lord Mayor, Recorder and High Sheriffs of the city of Dublin, certify that the above-named petitioner, George Roe, hath, as far as hath lain within our knowledge and observation, conducted himself in a becoming manner in his department, and that we never knew him to have been guilty of any corrupt or

improper act, but that his conduct has appeared to us to have been diligent and humane as a gaoler of the city of Dublin, and we have always considered him to be a person of honest and fair character, and do humbly recommend him as such. Given under our hands this 3d day of March, 1788.

TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1788.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the relief of persons who have omitted to qualify themselves according to law; which was received and read the first time.

Several bills were read a second time, but there was not any business that produced debate.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1788.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the better preservation of sheep, and the more speedy detection of sheep-stealers; which was received and read the first time.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the bill to ascertain the tithe of hemp and flax, Mr. Mason in the chair.

Mr. GRATTAN said that the bill would extend its regulation throughout the whole kingdom, which he thought unnecessary and improper, as in several parts there was already a modus for the tithe of flax; he must, therefore, if the right honourable baronet [Sir Lucius O'Brien] persisted in his intention of making the bill general, move to exempt those places where a modus is already established.

Mr. BROWNLOW proposed to confine the operation of the bill to Munster only.

Mr. STEWART said that the modus for flax in the North was 6d. each sowing, be the quantity great or small; this was cheerfully paid by the people, and received by the parson in a satisfactory manner; he therefore hoped no innovation would be made, where all parties were content under the present modus.

It was agreed that flax should be entirely struck out of the bill, and its provisions made to relate to hemp only.

The committee then reported the bill, which, with its amendments, was agreed to by the House, and ordered to be engrossed.

THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1788.

Alderman WARREN moved that the bill for regulating the pipe-water in the city of Dublin, be committed for Monday.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said the bill was highly exceptionable, as it went to lay a double tax; besides he had been informed that the bill had been very materially altered since it was first introduced into the House.

The SPEAKER observed, that if any alteration had been made in the bill since it came into the House, it was highly improper.

Alderman WARREN declared he knew of no alteration that had been made in the bill, nor had he made the smallest.

Mr. HARTLEY moved that the bill, with the leave of the House, be withdrawn, in order to bring in a more correct one; and the order for going into a committee on the bill on Monday be discharged.—The motion passed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL presented to the House, according to order, a bill to repeal an act passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry VIII. entitled an act of appeals; and to enable the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of this kingdom, for the time being, to issue commissions of appeal from the Courts of the Archbishops within the same; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. PONSONBY presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the further amendment of the several laws relative to the registering of freeholders; which was received and read the first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented to the House, according to order, a bill for extending to the roads leading to Dublin through Raheny and Clontarf, the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of his Majesty's reign, entitled an act for making, widening and repairing the road leading from Dublin to Malahide, and for erecting turnpike gates, and receiving tolls thereout in aid of the barony presentments, and for appointing trustees for carrying the said purposes into execution, and also for continuing the said act; which was received and read the first time.

FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1788.

Mr. MASON presented to the House, according to order, a bill for more effectually preventing frauds against his Majesty's reve-

nue, and for continuing and amending the several acts of Parliament therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. GRATTAN presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the better ascertaining the tithe of rape; which was received and read the first time.

Also a bill to encourage the improvement of barren lands; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. BOLTON presented to the House, according to order, a bill to regulate the admission of freemen into corporations, and to empower the justices of the courts from whence writs of mandamus shall issue to award costs to the party aggrieved; which was received and read the first time.

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1788.

A petition of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Limerick, at spring assizes, 1788, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that many and great advantages to this nation in general, and to the said county in particular, would arise from a completion of the navigation of the river Shannon; that it would add much to the export trade of the city of Limerick, by which a vast influx of wealth must necessarily follow, and would be attended with many other essential benefits to this kingdom; and therefore praying aid.

Mr. GRATTAN presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the better ascertaining the tithe of flax in the province of Munster; which was received and read the first time.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said he rose to give notice to the House, that he would at an early period of the next session of Parliament, introduce a subject which very materially interested this country. He should not, he said, at present make any motion relative to it, as the House was so very thin, but he thought proper to apprise gentlemen of his intentions. He said there was very much wanted in this country, a regulation of money weights, for we had no standard weights, and as the situation of this kingdom was now ripe for it, he would propose that an enquiry into the state of the currency of this country should take place, as well British as foreign coin; and in order to make this enquiry, he should move next session of Parliament for a committee to be appointed for that purpose; and his object was to move an address to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he would lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to establish a Mint in this

kingdom. He observed that this country had suffered these several years past very considerably, for want of a Mint; at the same time he was well aware that every thing respecting the coinage of money was the prerogative of the Crown, but as he did not mean in the least to trench on the rights of that prerogative, he should bring forward his measure in the most respectful and constitutional manner; and he mentioned it thus early that gentlemen may not plead ignorance of the subject, and he hoped that gentlemen would between this and the next session, turn it seriously in their mind, and give it that attention which its magnitude required.

MONDAY, MARCH 10, 1788.

A petition of the Woollen Manufacturers of the city of Dublin and liberties adjoining, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners have long been and still are subject to great injuries and losses by reason of the depravity of their working people, who apparently without remorse daily embezzle, pilfer from or defraud the petitioners of quantities of wool and yarn entrusted to their care; that several persons now acting as petty manufacturers openly avow themselves to be the purchasers of wool and yarn so pilfered from the petitioners, and there are also many others equally criminal, who have not yet thought proper thus publicly to declare themselves agents in these illicit practices; that the petitioners humbly conceive such nefarious and iniquitous traffic could not be successfully carried on for years (as this has been) were it not for the very great difficulty, nay almost impossibility (as the law now stands) of the petitioners proving a just and legal title to their property when thus alienated; that in the nineteenth and twentieth years of his present Majesty the petitioners understand an act passed for the relief of the silk manufacturers, who prior to that period had repeatedly suffered many and great injuries of a similar nature; and petitioners have heard and believe that the assistance of Parliament hath been afforded to the woollen manufacturers of Cork also, by a bill or clause in some bill of the like tendency; and therefore praying redress.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend an act made in the fifth and sixth years of his present Majesty George III. entitled an act for the encouraging the cultivation and better preservation of trees, shrubs, plants and roots; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of the Corporation, and also of the common Brewers of the city of Dublin, whose names are thereunto subscribed,

was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that several of the clauses introduced into the revenue law of the last session, and which the petitioners understand are intended to be re-enacted by the revenue bill before the House, have been found from experience to be highly injurious to the brewing trade of said city, and inadequate to the purposes for which they were intended, having by their operation considerably increased the importation of English malt liquor; that the petitioners beg leave to object to oaths being prescribed to them, binding them thereby to carry on their trade faithfully and honestly, the petitioners conceiving it to be disgraceful and unnecessary to oblige them to swear that they will carry on their trade faithfully and honestly, inasmuch as it is the policy, as well as the duty, of every honest and conscientious manufacturer so to do; and if men of a different description should unhappily engage in the petitioners trade, oaths would not be binding upon them, which as the petitioners humbly apprehend proves such a measure to be an inlet to perjury, and highly oppressive and injurious to the conscientious trader; that the clause contained in the oath which the petitioners were obliged to take by said law, and which they understand is also introduced in the bill now depending before the House, prescribing the quantity of malt and hops that are to be used on a barrel of ale, is, as the petitioners are able to prove by calculation, ruinous to the petitioners, as the value of the materials and work added to the duty exceeds what they can by law receive for such barrel of ale when manufactured; besides which the petitioners humbly conceive that said clause is injurious to agriculture, petitioners being compelled thereby to use the cheapest and lowest quality of grain in brewing of ale; that the clause contained in said oath which prohibits the petitioners from giving any gift, allowance or perquisite to the retailer of malt liquor, the petitioners humbly conceive to be unnecessary, inasmuch as the petitioners are already restrained in that particular by a law made for that purpose; that the clause which prevents the brewer from taking back any drink that may prove unsaleable, without a certificate from the surveyor, has been found in many instances to be oppressive and injurious both to the brewer and retailer; for as all manufactures are liable to accident, if such unsaleable drink, not having been adulterated by the retailer, cannot be taken back without the surveyor's certificate, which it may frequently happen cannot be obtained within the time prescribed by law, the retailer must force a sale to the injury of his own and the brewer's character, or else lose the whole of its value, or refuse to pay the brewer for the same; that the clause contained in said oath which precludes the brewer from paying the expence of the carriage of malt liquor sent to persons residing within three miles of his brewery, is impossible to be observed, and directly contrary to the immemorial usage in that instance, as no retailer would within such distance take a barrel of drink, unless delivered by the

brewer at his house; the petitioners beg leave to observe, as they are restrained by the foregoing clauses from extending any kind of encouragement to the retailer, it has been generally believed that such clauses were introduced at the requisition of the petitioners, which has occasioned the retailers to entertain much resentment against the petitioners, and induced them for some time past to encourage the importation and retail of English malt liquor, to the great injury and diminution of the petitioners trade; that on the whole the petitioners beg leave to state to the House that the foregoing restrictions are unprecedented, and such as no body of traders or manufacturers either in Great Britain or this kingdom were ever subjected to before, and have had the injurious effect of reducing the quantity of malt liquor brewed in this city, of encouraging the importation of English malt liquors, of restraining petitioners in the exercise of their abilities and in the use of their capital, of greatly encreasing the consumption of spirituous liquors, of discouraging agriculture, and finally of impeding the extension of an infant manufacture in this kingdom; and therefore praying to be heard by their counsel against the clauses objected to in said bill, and to produce witnesses, if necessary, in support of their petition, and upon the whole to grant such relief as to the House shall seem meet.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, for his own part, he could have no objection to the brewers giving forty guineas to two barristers for appearing in their behalf, but that it would tend to create delay, and the petition itself, which would undoubtedly receive all due attention, sufficiently expressed the wishes of the brewers.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table, and leave was given to hear the petitioners by counsel.

Mr. HARTLEY observed, that from the vast variety of new matter introduced into the Revenue-bill of the present session, it was to all intents and purposes a new bill, he therefore thought it right that it should be printed.

Mr. MASON said he had no objection, but the expence; as to the bill itself, he wished all the world to be acquainted with its contents.

A petition of the Sedan Chairmen of the city of Dublin, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioners, as a body, have been always distinguished for their peaceable and orderly behaviour, and for the confidence and trust reposed in them by the nobility and gentry of this kingdom; that the petitioners, with all deference and humility, humbly beg leave to lay before the House the following rules and orders of the commissioners of

police, which the petitioners conceive to be grievances which affect their body; that the petitioners chairs are distinguished by three numbers placed on each side thereof and one on the back, which the petitioners humbly conceive sufficiently identify them, their numbers and owners being registered in the commissioners books; that by the said rules and orders of the commissioners of police, it is ordered among other things, that after the 24th day of December, 1787, no person shall ply or carry any hackney sedan chair defective in any part or particular, which rule or order the petitioners humbly conceive to be a grievance, inasmuch as a sedan chair maker is a particular branch in itself, of which the petitioners are totally ignorant, and therefore the petitioners chairs might have some defects without their knowledge, yet for such offence so indefinitely described, the petitioners are by the said rules and orders subjected to an arbitrary fine of twenty shillings or a month's confinement in the House of Correction; that by said rules and orders it is also ordered that the said sedan chairs shall be carried by able men, decent in apparel, and of good and civil behaviour, under a like fine of twenty shillings or one month's imprisonment, the owner or owners of the sedan chair being liable to the penalty, which the petitioners humbly conceive to be a grievance for the following reasons: for that some of the petitioners who are owners of sedan chairs, and occasionally carry the same, are chairmen in the employ of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, and when attending their masters cannot be answerable for the men who may be occasionally employed in the carrying an end of a chair in their absence; that the term able men, used in the said rule, is a very vague one to express an offence which subjects the owners to a fine or imprisonment, and is liable to be construed according to the caprice of any man; and the petitioners also humbly complain that the said rule also operates to drive perhaps an industrious poor man who may be advanced in years from the means of acquiring a support from his honest industry and labour, such men being generally not considered as able men in the common acceptance of the words, although they may be of sufficient ability to do their work as chairmen; and the petitioners humbly represent that their hire being but very small and but casual, many of them are not able at all times to make a decent appearance, yet for this involuntary crime of poverty are the petitioners by the said rules subjected to an arbitrary fine of twenty shillings or a month's imprisonment; that it is by the said rules also ordered that no empty sedan chair shall be carried on the footway or flagged sides of any street or public passage, which the petitioners humbly crave leave to represent as an encroachment on the common rights of humanity, many of the streets and public passages of this city being extremely narrow and crowded with carriages; yet petitioners endeavouring to save their lives or properties by taking themselves to the footway or

flagged passage are they subjected to fine or imprisonment; that it is by the said rules also ordered that each man who carries any of said chairs shall wear the number or badge of his chair upon the outside of his garment upon his breast, so that it may be easily perceived or taken, which the petitioners humbly beg leave to represent as a most unnecessary and wanton act of oppression, not warranted by any necessity or utility, (except that of raising money from the petitioners) the petitioners chairs having no less than seven distinguished numbers on them, which renders such badges unnecessary; that it is by the said rules ordered that the christian and surnames of the carrier of every such chair shall be painted on the poles between the lugs, so that the same be easily seen, which the petitioners conceive to be both grievous to them and unnecessary, the poles of the petitioners chairs being liable to many accidents on account of snapping or loosing, yet the petitioners, on providing themselves with new poles, must be under the necessity of having at a considerable expence their names painted on such new poles, and continue out of employment until the same shall be done; besides, the petitioners humbly beg leave to represent that this rule, and that which relates to badging, are oppressive, unnecessary and unjust, inasmuch as it may, and frequently doth happen, that many of the petitioners are from sickness and a variety of accidents disabled from pursuing their business in person, and therefore are on such occasions under the necessity of employing another man to assist their partner in carrying a chair until such time as they are able to resume their employment, and without which such partner would be out of employment, and such chair pole, notwithstanding the petitioners are on such situation for employing a man who cannot wear such badge, and whose name is not the same as painted on the poles, subjected to fine or imprisonment, which the petitioners humbly complain of as exceedingly unjust; and therefore praying relief.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he would be ever ready to redress the grievances of the subjects, applying in a proper and constitutional manner, but he understood that the petitioners in the present case were in a combination against the law, and till they give up their combination, and placed that reliance on Parliament which they had every reason to do, he would pay no regard to their petition.

Mr. HOBART said that there was nothing in the conduct of these poor men which could in justice be called a combination; three weeks ago they had preferred their petition, which, from some informality [not being signed] could not then be received; they then complained of a tax and certain regulations, which, whenever they should come into operation, would disenable them from pursuing their labour. These laws and taxes were not taking

place, but the conduct of the chairmen could not be deemed a combination; it was merely the relinquishment of a business they were no longer able to carry on.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he hoped the House would proceed to grant them redress, for they were injured and oppressed indeed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House, a copy of the bye laws made by the commissioners of police for the regulation of sedan chairs and chairmen.

The bill for registering freeholders being read a second time,

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved a clause, to prevent the multiplication of occasional freeholders.

Mr. STEWART proposed to introduce a clause to oblige the clerks of the peace of counties to give security for their conduct.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said this would be trenching upon the rights of the custos rotulorum, who appoints the clerks of the peace; the custos rotulorum is answerable for the conduct of the officer by him appointed; and whether, considering the noblemen and gentlemen who hold this trust in the several counties, is it not better to have things as they are, than to insist on any new security, he submitted to his honourable friend?

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) denied that in all cases the custos rotulorum appoints the clerk of the peace; in at least five counties of Leinster, he said, they are appointed by patent.

The order for the House resolving into a committee of the whole House, on the bill for ascertaining the tithe of rape was read.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—It is with some reluctance, Mr. Speaker, that I oppose your leaving the chair, from the great respect I feel for every measure of my right honourable friend; but I trust he will not think me in the wrong, when he reflects that we have already a law which exempts all barren ground that shall hereafter be reclaimed, from paying tithe of rape, flax, or hemp, for seven years; the law I mean, is the 5th George II. chap. 9.—Now as rape is only cultivated for the purpose of reclaiming ground, this law answers every purpose of my right honourable friend, and I shall propose to extend it so far, that new reclaimed land shall be exempt from every kind of tithe whatsoever, for the first seven years.

Though it is not perfectly in order to speak of a bill not immediately before the House, I cannot help observing, that I fear

the bill brought in by my right honourable friend, for ascertaining the tithe of flax, will injure the cause he espouses. The bill proposes that 5s. the acre shall be the tithe of flax in Munster. In Ulster the modus is infinitely less at this day; what security is there, by endeavouring to lower the tithe of flax in Munster, where there is comparatively very little grown, he does not raise it in Ulster, where there grow vast quantities?

Mr. GRATTAN said he thought the present occasion as fit as any that could offer to consider the merits of the three bills together, and to decide on what was proper to be done.

The right honourable gentleman had objected to the bill for ascertaining the tithe of rape as an unnecessary bill, because rape was cultivated in order to reclaim and bring in barren lands, and a bill was expected to pass to exempt all reclaimed lands from every kind of tithe for the first seven years. He said he rather thought the right honourable gentleman mistaken; rape he believed was often cultivated in good land. As the bill would only exempt the produce of newly reclaimed land from tithe, it would also fall short of his intention. He had known where one guinea an acre tithe had been charged for rape; he could not suppose that any man would have the conscience to charge this for newly reclaimed or for barren land; he had been informed that 4l. an acre had been charged for tithe; he did not know the fact himself, but he had offered to produce at the bar the persons who had been so charged; 16l. for four acres of rape. He understood that rape had become a very considerable object of exportation; not less than 30,000l. worth had been exported in the last year; a premium was given to encourage its growth; but no premium could operate to any effect, while counteracted by such enormous tithe as he had stated.

As to what the right honourable gentleman had said respecting the bill for ascertaining the tithe of flax in Munster, he agreed with him that the bill was exceptionable, but the exception to it was that it did not abolish the tithe of flax altogether, for sure nothing could be more absurd than to tax the staple manufacture of the country. He had shewn, that flax in Munster was charged with a tithe of 12s. an acre, whereas in England, though it is not the staple of the country, 5s. is the tithe allowed. He desired to ask gentlemen, did they think that England would not lay any imposition at all upon flax were it the staple of the country? They must confess she would not. She has proved it by exempting madder, which she considered as an article auxiliary to her staple. In a word, he was of opinion that every thing essential to the manufactures of the country should be tithe free, and that the legislature should make the church full compensation in money; for to encourage the materials of manufacture with premiums in one hand, and to repress them by a demand for

tithes in the other, was most grossly absurd. He would, therefore, whenever the question came fairly before the House, propose to abolish all tithe on flax, and to make the clergy compensation in money. At the same time he must observe, that he could not have supposed any body of men would resist a bill giving so high a tithe as 5s. an acre on flax in Munster.

As to what the right honourable gentleman had said with respect to a danger which might arise from the bill, he could see no cause for such fear. The bill, at the same time that it secured to the clergy a tithe of 5s. per acre on flax in Munster, did also secure for ever to the North its present modus. It was to be recited in the preamble of the bill—"That whereas the linen manufacture had flourished where flax was exempted from tithe, or where a moderate modus had been established." If the House would assent to this preamble, they would then recognize the principle, that manufactures should, as far as possible, be disencumbered of taxation, and he was convinced every gentleman would in private allow the justice of this principle. He could not see why any reasons of delicacy should prevent them from declaring it. He knew it was supposed that though the bill should pass that House, it might be lost in another place; that consideration should never deter the Commons from doing their duty. Let the Commons pass such bills as they deemed advantageous to the country, and throw the odium of rejecting them upon others.

There were three bills now in contemplation; if the House would pass but one of them, he should be much obliged, but he should esteem the favour much greater if they would pass them all.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said as gentlemen had spoken of the three bills as one general subject, he hoped to be indulged with the same liberty; he would certainly vote against the Speaker's leaving the chair, for as to saying that 4l. had been charged upon an acre of rape, though he was sure the right honourable gentleman had heard it, and though he would give the most implicit credit to what he asserted of his own knowledge, yet this was so monstrous, it required not a moment's attention; however such a matter being alleged, was enough to prevent him from giving his consent to the bill, for were it now to pass, it would imply a necessity of restraining tithes, which though represented as enormous, would be easily proved to be very far from unreasonable. This he instanced in a case of his own: Some years ago he had a very considerable crop of rape, worth not less than 10l. an acre; what might the House suppose he had been charged tithe? One shilling an acre.

The right honourable gentleman had asked, would England tax the materials of her staple trade? The answer was, is wool taxed in England? It is, though the English clergyman has

never been deprived of agistment, as the Irish clergyman has; a loss to which however they will quietly submit.

He concluded with entreating the right honourable gentleman to close with the proposal of the Attorney General, of modifying the bill for improving barren lands, so as to exempt them totally from tithes for seven years; this, he said, as a measure equally beneficial to the clergy and laity, should have his hearty concurrence.

Mr. GRATTAN said he did not mean to protract the debate; he had stated that he had been informed that 16l. had been charged for the tithe of four acres of rape; he was ready to produce the person who asserted he had paid it. As to a guinea an acre being paid on rape, that he believed would not be controverted, if it was, a member then in the House would declare that he had paid it.

The right honourable gentleman had said, what was undoubtedly true, that he had been charged but 1s. an acre for tithe of rape, but could a more powerful argument be adduced to prove the necessity of regulating the tithe by law? a great and powerful man was charged but 1s. an acre, while the poor farmer was charged a guinea, not to mention cases of greater enormity.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he assured the right honourable gentleman, that 1s. an acre for rape was the charge to every man in the parish where his land lay, at the time that he was charged that sum.

The question was put, that the Speaker do now leave the chair, and negatived.

The House resolved itself into a committee on the bill for improving barren lands, Mr. Stewart in the chair.

Sir THOMAS OSBORNE moved to enlarge the time of exemption to fourteen years, which was negatived.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said his right honourable friend, in bringing forward this measure, had conferred very great advantages upon both the clergy and laity, and was, in his opinion, well entitled to the thanks of every friend to Ireland. As one, he took the liberty of returning him his very hearty thanks.

Mr. CORRY presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend an act passed in the eleventh and twelfth years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for granting and continuing to his Majesty the several duties, rates and impositions therein mentioned, for the use of the corporation for promoting and carrying on an inland navigation in Ireland; which was received and read the first time.

TUESDAY, MARCH 11, 1788.

Mr. HOBART reported from the committee on the petition of the sedan chairmen, that they had fully proved the allegations of their petition.

Alderman WARREN said that the laws and regulations complained of by the chairmen were framed by the court of assistants, and by them handed over, with their powers, to the commissioners of police, who had made no alteration in them. These laws had since been revised and considered by the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, and signed by them in token of approbation. He said he could not presume to declare, that of his own authority he would alter or change them, though he saw plainly it was the wish of the House they should be changed; but, guaranteed by the House, he would venture to say, that the parts complained of by the petitioners should not be enforced, until they had been reconsidered by the judges and commissioners of police. At the same time, he said, he would not resist the wishes of the House, he would assure gentlemen that those badges so much complained of as burdensome and oppressive by the chairmen, were far from being so:—They were intended to be worn at the button, and to be marked with figures corresponding with the numbers of their chairs; and it was expected that being thus liable to be known, the chairmen would be restrained from great rudeness and impropriety, of which they are frequently guilty at public places.

Mr. Serjeant HEWITT presented to the House, according to order, a bill for continuing the acts relative to bankrupts, and for reviving, continuing and amending certain temporary statutes; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. GRIFFITH presented to the House, according to order, a bill to enforce the law in the several prisons within this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1788.

Mr. JOHN WILLIAM FOSTER presented to the House, according to order, a bill to amend an act passed in the last session of Parliament, for improving and repairing the turnpike road from Dublin to Dunleer; which was received and read the first time.

The bill to enforce the law in prisons, was read a second time.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL objected to two clauses in the bill, relative to the gaoler of the New Prison: If any part of his

conduct had been irregular, he said, he might be prosecuted in due course of law; but he deemed it highly unconstitutional, and a dangerous precedent, to punish men by acts of Parliament made *ex post facto*.

It was agreed that the bill should be withdrawn, and the objectionable clauses being expunged, it should be presented anew.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he was ready to take this lenient method, because he was convinced what had passed would have every effect he had hoped from the clauses; the offences of the gaoler being merely offences of omission, which he trusted would not again be repeated.

Mr. CORRY said that he hoped it would be fully understood that the principle on which the House acted was a principle of constitution—that they would not punish any man by an *ex post facto* law; but he thought it incumbent on the House to declare their full approbation of the humane and charitable conduct of the gentlemen who had taken so much pains to alleviate the horrors of imprisonment, and who had prepared the bill. For one, he begged them to accept his tribute of thanks.

The bill was withdrawn, and the clauses being struck out, it was presented anew, and read a first time.

Mr. HARTLEY presented to the House, according to order, a bill for better supplying the city of Dublin with water, for extending the powers of the grand juries with respect to the roads lying within the county of the said city, and for preventing nuisances thereon and in the neighbourhood thereof; which was received and read the first time.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE made some observations on the expences which would be incurred by the bill.

Mr. HARTLEY said it would put the corporation of this city to a very great expence to extend their pipe-water works to the remote parts of the town, nevertheless they were resolved to do so, for the benefit of the public, and would charge but the same rates that were paid by the houses more conveniently situated.

Mr. HOLMES presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain, amend and render more effectual an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty King George III. entitled an act to establish the business of a pawnbroker, and to authorize such persons as shall be duly qualified to carry on the same to lend money on pawns or pledges, and to receive interest at a higher rate than heretofore was recoverable by law; which was received and read the first time.

THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1788.

Mr. FITZHERBERT said that in consequence of the addresses of Parliament to the late Chief Governor, orders had been given for returns to be made of the endowments and funds appropriated to the maintenance of public schools throughout this kingdom, together with an account of the application of these funds. Several returns had accordingly been made, but so defective and incomplete, that it was impossible for Government to proceed in the plan of education without being made more perfectly acquainted with the funds for that purpose, than from the returns they could be. It was, however, found that sufficient power was not vested in the Chief Governor to enforce true returns, and therefore it was necessary that an act should be passed to enable him to appoint commissioners to enquire into the state of the public schools. Those commissioners, it was intended, should act without any expence to the nation, and make their report to Parliament on the first day of the next session, in order to lay a solid foundation for carrying into effect a general and beneficial system of education.

He then moved that leave be given to bring in such bill; and leave being given, he soon after presented to the House, a bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, to appoint commissioners for enquiring into the several funds and revenues granted by public or private donations for the purposes of education in this kingdom, and into the state and condition of all schools in this kingdom on public or charitable foundations, and of the funds appropriated for the maintenance and support thereof, and for the other purposes therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

The bill to enforce the law in prisons, being read a second time,

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON objected to two clauses—that for enabling the Lord Lieutenant to enlarge the salary of the inspector general of prisons; and that for enabling the chaplain of the New-prison to have the duty at Bridewell performed by deputy.

The SECRETARY OF STATE spoke in terms of high approbation of the great merit and unabating zeal of Sir Jerome Fitzpatrick, inspector general of prisons. His exertions he said had already been productive of much benefit to the nation. By his skill and diligence a violent gaol fever had been prevented from spreading last summer at Clonmel, and many valuable lives had been saved; yet these exertions had been made almost at his own private expence, for the trifling salary allowed by the public was scarcely sufficient to maintain the horses which carried him from one end of the kingdom to the other; he therefore trusted the

honourable baronet would, upon consideration, think that the increase of salary proposed was by no means too great.

Mr. GRIFFITH moved that the committee to whom is referred the bill for enforcing the law in prisons, be empowered to receive a clause to prevent the admission of spirituous liquors into gaols.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) moved that the said committee be empowered to receive a clause, to empower grand juries to make presentments for medicines and other necessaries, for sick prisoners confined in gaols.

The SECRETARY OF STATE moved that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the present state of the charter-schools of Ireland. He observed, that much advantage might in this business be derived from the opinion and advice of the benevolent Mr. Howard, who was at present in Dublin, and would attend the committee.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House upon the Revenue-bill.

Counsel appeared at the bar in support of the petition of the brewers of the city of Dublin.

Several brewers were examined by Counsel, and cross-examined by Mr. Beresford.

Mr. BERESFORD said he could not consent to give up the oath complained of in the petition: he knew that if it was removed, the brewers would recur to the practice of underselling each other to such a degree, as utterly to ruin the manufacture; but while they were bound to use a certain proportion of materials, and to charge a certain price, there was a fair field for emulation and honest contest, who should produce the best liquor; and as it had appeared in evidence, that some persons had evaded the oath, he was desirous to make it more strict in the points that had not been found sufficiently binding. However, he would consent to alter the words which the brewers said prohibited them from sending home ale to their customers, and he would also consent to allow them to change any drink which might be spoiled through accident.

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1788.

Mr. COLVILLE presented to the House, according to order, a bill for the further payment of the debts of the late corporation for promoting inland navigations in Ireland, by rectifying an omission in the schedule annexed to the act of last session, entitled an act for directing the application of the funds granted by Par-

liament for promoting and carrying on inland navigations in this kingdom, and for the purposes therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. BOLTON presented to the House, according to order, a bill to amend an act passed in the last session of Parliament, entitled an act for regulating the baking trade; which was received and read the first time.

Several bills were read a second time, &c. but there was not any business that produced debate.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1788.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration a bill to enforce the law in the several prisons within this kingdom, Mr. Holmes in the chair.

A clause for encreasing the salary of the inspector of prisons to 400l. per annum—a clause for encreasing the salary of the gaoler of the county of Dublin—a clause to prevent the admission of spirits into prisons—and a clause to empower grand juries to make presentments for necessaries and medicines for sick prisoners—were all agreed to.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH presented to the House, according to order, a bill to enforce the payment of interest on private loans, and for the relief of widows, younger children, annuitants and others; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. CONOLLY said that it had long been the wish of his heart, to emancipate the lower order of his countrymen from the pressure of a tax. That he knew, and could prove, they were not able to pay; that he had given notice of his intention, two years ago, and would last year have brought forward a specific motion for that purpose, but that he found that very order of people, which he meant to relieve, had behaved in a disorderly manner, and had not shewn themselves amenable to the laws. That by the death of our late Viceroy, and the arrival of our present Chief Governor at the meeting of Parliament, when he must, of necessity, be overwhelmed with much business, he had postponed his intention till his excellency could have time to investigate the subject, and that this session he should only move for information by the resolutions he should have the honour to read, to be laid before the House, at the opening of next session, by which, if they were agreed to, the House would be able to judge of the defalcation of revenue, and of course be able to supply the deficiency, which he conceived could be done, without oppression, in collecting of the very tax itself, by adding, if necessary, something

more to the share of the rich. That he was not rivetted to his own method of procuring information, and should willingly adopt that of any other gentleman; but, that the information must be of a public, and responsible nature, and not of a private one; that he had chosen two methods of procuring this knowledge, that the one should be a check on the other. He believed the clergy would be happy to contribute to the ease of their poor fellow-creatures, and would readily undertake the task; the hearth-money collectors, in going their rounds of collection, could easily make enquiries, but, he doubted their integrity in the business, as they were interested in concealing the real value of their different walks. He then moved,

First. That the proper officer do lay before this House, on the first day of next session, an account of the houses, in counties at large in this kingdom, paying hearth-money, which are not of a greater value than 30s. per annum, on the full improved rent, and are inhabited by persons, who have not lands, goods, or chattels, of the value of 5l. in their possession.

Second. That the ministers or curates, and church-wardens, of the different parishes, in counties at large, in this kingdom, do on or before the first day of January next, return to the registers of the respective dioceses in this kingdom, an account of all the houses, in their respective parishes, paying hearth-money, which are not of a greater value than 30s. per annum, on the full improved rent, and are inhabited by persons, who have not lands, goods; or chattels, of the value of 5l. in their possession.

Third. Ordered, that a copy of this, and the above resolution, signed by the Speaker of this House, be forthwith sent to the registers of the respective dioceses in this kingdom, and that said registers, immediately on the receipt thereof, do serve the ministers or curates, and church-wardens, of the different parishes, in their respective dioceses, with copies of the above resolution, and that said registers do, on the first day of next session, lay before this House, all such accounts as shall be returned to them by ministers or curates, and church-wardens, pursuant to the above resolution, and also a list of the names of the ministers or curates, and church-wardens, whom they have served with a copy of such order, together with the names of the parishes to which they respectively belong.

Mr. O'NEIL said he rose to second his right honourable friend; this being a subject on which he had formerly declared his opinion, and in which he had felt himself so deeply interested for his poor fellow-creatures, that he had taken much pains to examine it minutely, but he was sorry to say that he found it so very difficult that he was obliged to abandon it in despair; he was however happy to find that it was fallen into abler hands, and hoped his right honourable friend might succeed in forming some specific plan, that he might ease the poor without injuring the public reve-

nue; but he desired that he might not be supposed pledged to that plan until he had seen and considered it.

Mr. BUSHE.—I shall say nothing to the policy or impolicy of the tax of hearth-money, neither shall I attempt to depreciate the humane intentions of the right honourable gentleman, but I will take the liberty to say, that the thing he desires to have done, is totally impossible. He desires that the proper officer may lay before this House, an account of all houses of no greater value than 30s. a year, inhabited by persons not being landholders, whose property does not exceed 5l. But who is the proper officer that can appreciate any man's property? Who can say how much any man is worth? The officer can tell whether the house is good or bad, clean or dirty, furnished or unfurnished; but what worldly property the inhabitant possesses, no man but himself can tell.

Now though I would be exceedingly ready to give the right honourable gentleman every information in my power, yet I very much question the prudence of the resolution, even admitting it were practicable, for if you hold out to every man who thinks the tax of hearth-money burdensome, an hope that he may be exonerated from it, and if (as most assuredly will be the case) you are unable to accomplish his hope, who will be responsible for the consequences? Are you very sure that you will be able to compensate the revenue for the exemption desired? And if you are not, are you very sure that you will not raise discontents, which it may be very difficult to allay?

It is certain that the hearth-money man will be unable to make the return desired; and it is equally certain the minister or curate will be even more unable. The hearth-money man certainly goes through the parishes, the minister does not; but would it not be a little hard on the minister to employ him in this service? For if you desire him to hold out to the peasant, that the payment of 2s. a year to the state, from which he receives some benefit, is a grievance, will it not instantly occur to him that the payment of 8s. per acre to the church, from which he does not think he receives any benefit, is a still greater grievance? I mention this to the right honourable gentleman who is a great friend of the church, that he may not unwarily place the clergy in a situation where he would not wish to see them; and I request him to consider, whether, if the common people reflect, that hearth-money was instituted near an hundred years ago and has not been raised since, but has always remained at the same rate notwithstanding the constant decrease in the value of money, whereas tithes daily encrease, will they not vote that tithes are a burden, which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished?

Let me say one word before I sit down, in justice to Administration, whose attention to the poor, and wish to relieve them from every oppression, is highly honourable. The whole system

of collecting hearth-money has been changed, the oppression of deputies and the peculation of collectors is, I hope, abolished for ever; under the new arrangement near 30,000 houses will be exempt, and every complaint against the injustice of officers will be strictly attended to; and after this I hope no gentleman will interfere with Government, on behalf of any hearth-money collector that may be dismissed for ill-behaviour.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he could not see how any man of the least industry could complain of a tax of 2s. a year—a tax instituted near a century ago, when the price of labour was not half so great as at the present day, and consequently when in effect the tax was double. He observed that this was almost the single tax paid by the poor of Ireland, and as it would be extremely difficult to institute any other in its place, the worst effects might be produced by holding out to the people a kind of promise to remove it, which promise it might not be in the power of Parliament to perform.

He said it was not the tax of hearth-money that was a grievance to the poor, but the oppressive manner in which it was collected; but he understood that the Board had turned their attention to that subject, and he was confident the grievance would be redressed.

MR. STEWART said he did not agree with gentlemen in supposing any very great danger from the resolutions; some years ago Parliament had called for an account of the houses of one hearth, and no very dreadful commotion had followed.

A right honourable gentleman had said that this was the only tax that reached the poor; but a moment's reflection would shew him the mistake; for though the poor should not be taxed at all, tithes and taxes reach to every article of their consumption.

MR. CONOLLY said that he saw no difficulty in finding out the proper officer to lay this information before the House; there was a supervisor of hearth-money, and a commissioner appointed to superintend that very department. He conceived that the reluctance of gentlemen to have this matter investigated, proceeded from the many frauds that would come to light, in consequence of such investigation; when it would appear that patronage was at the bottom of their refusal. Was it not well known, that when a gentleman solicited, from the minister, a hearth-money collection, that instead of 40l. a year, its nominal value, that he considered it as from 1 to 200l. a year, and whence did this arise, but out of the plunder of the people, already too wretched, by taking indulgence-money, and by afterwards taking their pot, their blanket, and at last their door, and making what return they thought proper to the public treasury.

The very act itself originated in injustice, and it was continued in oppression. Gentlemen seemed to have forgot its origin.

This tax was given in England and Ireland to Charles II. in lieu of his right to wardship and marriage. The poor felt none of this oppression, they cared not whom their children married, not so the rich; but still this tax was, by the rich, put upon the poor. At the revolution, in England, King William took away this tax, and substituted a window-tax, in the place of it; the house of a poor man there, having only six windows, was exempted. Compare an English house with six windows, to an Irish house with only one hearth, which is poorest?

He said that he did not even intend to take in all the houses in Ireland, in this predicament, but only to exempt the lower order of people, as described in this resolution; the farmer and many others, were well able to pay, and it would not serve them to take off an old and stinted tax, that would not grow, and leave them open to the rapacity of ministers, who when they might want money, would substitute a new tax, which from its youth might be an increasing one; the poor man, (he would afterwards prove) could not, from his means, live honestly, (he spoke of the neighbourhood of the metropolis, in which he lived) and he did not believe the poor were better off in other parts of the kingdom, except in the heart of the linen manufacturing counties. If he should prove that the poor could not live honestly upon what they earned, he should consider Government, in enacting this tax, to be accessaries before the fact, in the many depredations they were obliged to commit upon their neighbours.—That he did not mean to blame this Administration, nor late ones, for this effect, but to hope that the recent one would put an end to it; especially as the circumstances of the country, as lately stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were in such a prosperous way, as to have induced him to bring forward a bill for reducing the public interest of money, from six to five per cent. Nay, Sir, said he, the whole of this obnoxious tax could be taken off, and the quantum of its produce nearly paid, out of the redundancy of those taxes that were voted in 1785; which were then calculated to produce 140,000*l.*—but that had since produced 190,000*l.*—They were voted to equalize our revenue to our expences, at the opening of a commercial treaty with Great Britain, which had failed, God rest its manes! and thank God, we were now in prosperity with a free trade, as undefined as the prerogative, and he hoped it would thrive as well.

He then stated the preamble of the act of William and Mary, upon the repeal of the hearth-money tax in England. It was declared therein, to be “not only a great oppression to the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people;” exposing every man’s house to be entered into, and searched at pleasure, by persons unknown to him—and therefore to erect a lasting monument of his Majesty’s goodness in every house in the kingdom,

the duty of hearth-money was taken away and abolished. Now, Sir, said he, if King William did this for his English subjects, why should not his present Majesty erect a lasting monument of his goodness in every poor man's house in Ireland? I am persuaded that if his Majesty was thoroughly and honestly informed of the situation of our poor countrymen, he would willingly stand their friend. They are sufficiently taxed by their situation in life—they procure us bread, and fight his battles. When I know that they cannot pay the tax out of their honest earnings, as an account which I shall state of their expences in living, will prove, I should have hopes of the tax upon them being abolished. He then read the following accounts of a poor man's necessary expences.

One man consumes
per day.

	In the year.	Price.	Sum.
	bar. ft. lb. oz.		l. s. d.
7lb. of potatoes	7 12	at 5s. per bar.	1 18 0
1 oz. of butter	22 13	at 6d. per lb	0 11 4½
1-12th part of a stone of eaten meal	cwt. pottle. 3 6 1	at 11s. per cwt.	2 1 8½
3 pints butter- milk	gal. pints. 136 0 7	at 1d. for 3 qrts.	0 15 4¼
Salt	- -	- -	0 1 0
1 kish of turf per week	kisbes. 40	at 18d. per kish	3 0 0
House Rent	- -	- -	1 2 9
Clothing	- -	- -	0 16 0
			10 6 2½

Labourers means of subsistence.

Labourers, at 7d. and 8d. per day, the average
7 d. deducting 52 Sundays and 10 Holydays,
the amount for 303 working days, comes to

9 9 4½

Balance against the poor man

0 16 10¾

£. 10 6 2¾

He said one kish of turf per week, will scarcely allow of the necessary saving towards supplying a fire to boil the potatoes, and bake the griddle bread, during the twelve weeks in summer, left out of this calculation.

Neither beer or meat are allowed the poor man in the above account, because he cannot purchase them.

He said he was not dismayed at the present manner of treating his motion—that knowing he was right, he should persevere to the last hour that he had the honour to have a seat in that House—that when he could no longer speak standing, and was permitted to do it sitting, he would still utter his feeble voice, to endeavour to emancipate his poor fellow creatures and countrymen, from a tax so oppressive to them; and so disgraceful to the Government that continued to enforce it.

Mr. BURGH (Accountant General) said when he rose to oppose the resolutions, he did not do it through any objection to useful information being given, but because it was impossible to obtain the information that was required, and Parliament must always appear frivolous when orders are given that cannot be complied with. What officer could, or dare, go through this kingdom to value the rentage, the property and circumstances of about four hundred thousand people, which this resolution comprehends? And how could this property be ascertained? Is it in the pasture field, that may be common to hundreds, where it would be the interest of the cottager to disown his property for a moment, that he might be rendered a permanent object of your compassion?

He said, whenever the House was prepared and determined to go into the subject, which he knew never would be till a suitable commutation was agreed on, no delay need be given for want of a proper return. The houses containing hearths, from one to seventy-six, (which is the highest) would be ranged in the several classes in a week's notice.

He agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that King William took off the hearth-money tax of England, which rendered him very popular; and certainly a King coming to the throne as he did, required to ingratiate himself by popularity; he got it, and then he availed himself of it to extend monstrous taxes. He cannot be said to give up a tax he commuted.

In respect to the popularity of the measure, that arose entirely from the upper class of the people, to whom the hearth money tax was conceded—they did not like to have officers trample through their houses on any pretext whatever—but the debate of to-day does not apply to that class of people, it is confined to the cottager; there the officer has no occasion to do more than count the houses; the chimnies tell themselves.

He observed, that he did not see this tax in so sentimental a light as some gentlemen did; for the real fact is, that the landlord ultimately pays this tax, and the landlords tell the cottagers to blame the Parliament for it; but he would tell the cottager that if Parliament took it off to-morrow, it is the land-

lord that is heir at law to the donation, because he would immediately demand, and doubtless he would get two shillings a year more for the tenement than he had before.—To speak plain truth, it is the landlord that complains—it is the landlord that is aggrieved, because it is he that pays it, and he that ought to pay it; but even to suppose for a moment that that tax was really paid by the labourer, then he would advise them to keep less holidays—four of their saints would pay the whole of the hearth-money.

He said his right honourable friend did not offer any commutation; but on the contrary he says, Government does not require any, they can afford to part with this tax, because that Parliament in 1785 granted new taxes of 140,000*l.* which turned out 190,000*l.* per ann.

This very strange assertion, he said, was frequently made, but he could not let gentlemen amuse themselves with so false an opinion; for the fact is, that the income of the Crown for the purposes of maintaining the several establishments was but 24,742*l.* more in the year 1787 than it was in the year 1784.

Parliament meant to give the Government of the country 140,000*l.* per annum; you are all proud of it—you all assert it; then of course you owe the deficiency to Government. Gentlemen look only at one side of the account; you certainly gave taxes, but you monopolized the benefit of them by the antemanum payments; payments perhaps that are highly advantageous to the country; but, however, I must assert that they intercept the treasure in its road to the Exchequer.

Mr. FORBES said that he was sorry to observe, that the reading of the account of the income and expences of the unfortunate Irish peasant, should excite merriment in the House—he thought a detail of such misery should produce in every humane breast very different sensations. He was at a loss to account why Administration should object to the motion of his right honourable friend. It had been stated in that House by high authority, that there were not a more wretched or oppressed set of beings in the world than the peasantry of a great part of Ireland; could the House consistent with justice or humanity, suffer the session to pass away without any measure being adopted for their relief? A right honourable friend of his [Mr. Grattan] had proposed the adoption of a certain plan for the relief of the people on the subject of tithes; that had been opposed by the present Administration; this day even the suggestion of redress of a grievance, which every person admitted to exist, was also resisted by Administration; therefore it was fair to conclude, that it was not their intention to afford any relief to the lower order of people in this kingdom. To the mode of proceeding of the right honourable mover, objections had been made, which had been conceived not

to be well founded. The resolutions he proposed appeared to be perfectly proper. It was a rule of Parliament, he said, that when a member proposed the abolition of a tax, in that House, he should at the same time propose another tax, as a substitute to make up the deficiency of the Revenue, occasioned by such an abolition, in order to ascertain the amount of that deficiency, or in other words the number of those whom he proposed to exempt from hearth-money. His right honourable friend had moved those resolutions. It had been contended by the opposers of his motion, that the House should decide first, and enquire afterwards; though he could not admit such a procedure to be either rational or parliamentary, he would in this instance gratify those opposers by declaring without hesitation, that it was his decided opinion, that the man whose house and garden are not worth more than thirty shillings per ann. who is not possessed of lands, goods, or chattles, exceeding in value five pounds, ought not to pay any tax whatsoever. He declared that he was happy to see a measure of this nature brought forward by the right honourable member. When the lower order of the people saw men of the first description in the landed interest advance, as the zealous assertors of their rights, and their determined protectors from oppression, they would repose proper confidence in the representatives of the people, and instead of being influenced by that despair, which an apprehension of their interests being totally neglected, must inspire, they would demean themselves properly, and rest on what he trusted was a well founded expectation, that the perseverance of the right honourable member and his friends, would at a future and early period obtain for them effectual relief.

Mr. GRATTAN said that if gentlemen were agreed in the principle they would not differ about the mode; there was no doubt that such an order could be framed as to give the House satisfactory knowledge of such persons as come within his right honourable friend's description of poverty; and a knowledge also of the amount of their usual payment, that we might know the sum to be compensated to the state; the hearth-money acts had admitted the poverty of the peasant to be ascertainable, for they gave exemptions to a description of persons who had but four pounds, as certified by the magistrate. Why not send out an order, requiring the collectors to make a return of the poor within his right honourable friend's motion; such return to be certified by a magistrate?—Why not proceed on the plan of the act which is already in existence, but whose exemption, from a change in the value of money, have lost the extent which the act was originally intended for? In fact, his right honourable friend's motion does nothing more than lay the foundation of extending, or rather reviving the humane provisions in one clause of the hearth-money

act; and his right honourable friend was perfectly proper in moving his resolutions now; because the return should be made early the next session, before we go into the committee of ways and means, where a compensation to the state, founded on such a return, should naturally be made.

The motion, therefore, of his right honourable friend was seasonable and practicable; but the cause of opposition to his motion was an opposition to his principle. The ministry, he said, do not chuse to relax any part of the hearth-money to ease the peasantry. In this I am sure they are wrong: I am convinced, that the man who has but five pounds in the world, and pays thirty shillings for his house, ought not to pay hearth-money—the strongest argument for his relief is the bare statement of his condition. What benefit does the State confer on such a man, that it should have a right to tax him? In what property do your laws protect such a man—a man who has no property—who has nothing, except that labour which he gives the State? He gives you his labour, and you give him a share in your taxes. What my right honourable friend has laid down is the true principle of Government, and ought to be the rule of yours, that the poor of such a description as he states, ought not to be taxed—that men who receive no benefit from the State, ought not to share in its burden—they should be exonerated on the most extensive principle—the peasantry of Ireland, when they are quiet, ought to be nursed, not taxed—their growth will make you ample amends for every exemption you afford them.

A right honourable gentleman on the floor has said, that hearth-money is the only tax the peasant pays, and therefore he thinks it is not necessary to abolish that tax—but I think it is necessary to abolish that tax, as far as relates to the peasantry, and for the very reason because it is the only tax the peasantry pay—that is, because they are so extremely poor, so very wretched, that they cannot afford to consume in any great degree the articles which are taxed in this country—a country where almost every thing is taxed—where soap, candles, and tobacco are taxed. The wretchedness of their living, and the misery of their consumption, is the reason why they scarcely pay any tax but the hearth-money, and is likewise a reason why they should not even pay hearth-money.

He said he laughed at the idea that we cannot make a compensation to the State, and still more at the supposition that the Crown has an interest in continuing this tax on the lower orders of the people, as if the Crown had not an interest in placing its support on ways and means the most humane and respectable. For the sake of the Crown as well as of the peasantry, he should wish this tax were taken off, in order to give relief to the one, and a more creditable revenue to the other.

On the question being put, the resolutions were negatived without a division.

MONDAY,

MONDAY, MARCH 17, 1788.

A petition of the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Dublin, South, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that that part of the Ranelagh road from the Circular-road leading to Dublin, now called Charlotte-street, and great part of Camden-street, together with that part of the Rathmines road from the Circular-road leading to Dublin, are in a ruinous and almost impassable state, and have been so for some years past, and are every day declining, and advancing more to ruin, though the petitioners are obliged to pay the paving tax; that the commissioners for paving, whose duty it was apprehended to be, have hitherto either neglected or are not properly authorized by law to mend or repair the same; that the grand juries for the said county of Dublin expecting the said commissioners would have repaired the same, have not presented any sum for that purpose; and therefore praying the House to do as to it shall seem meet.

The SECRETARY OF STATE presented to the House, according to order, a bill to alter and amend an act to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for prohibiting the use of lime in bleaching, and regulating seal-masters of linen, and encouraging the home-manufacture of ashes for bleachers use, enlarging and rendering more commodious the linen-hall of the city of Dublin, and other purposes therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. HOLMES reported from the committee of the whole House, on the bill for enforcing the law in prisons.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON opposed the clause for increasing the salary of the gaoler of the county of Dublin.

Mr. GARDINER said he had on this specific point been addressed by the grand jury of the county of Dublin, who having considered the diligence and activity of this officer, and his very small salary, had desired that it might be increased; the gaoler of Newgate had 120*l.* per annum, without taking more trouble than the gaoler of the county of Dublin; and on the whole he thought the increase very reasonable.

He said he could not avoid observing, that the honourable baronet seemed anxious upon all occasions to oppose whatever came from the representatives of the county of Dublin; he was almost going to say, he wished he were one of them to see how much better he would act for the benefit of the county.

Sir NICHOLAS LAWLESS said he had frequently had the honour of being on the grand juries of the county of Dublin, and those juries had found themselves under the necessity of passing presentments for various articles charged somewhat high, in order in some degree to compensate the gaoler for the smallness of his salary; now, to prevent a continuation of that necessity, he was for agreeing to the clause.

The clause was accordingly agreed to.

The clause for increasing the salary of the Inspector General of prisons was read,

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON opposed it also.

Mr. O'NEIL said he thought it but an act of common justice to increase the salary of the Inspector General of prisons; that gentleman with a degree of zeal and diligence unequalled, had performed his duty to the full satisfaction of every man who had taken the trouble of attending to the subject, and to the very great benefit of the nation: to devote himself entirely to his duty he had given up his profession as a physician, and he had trusted entirely to the generosity of the public for such reward as his conduct might merit; to bestow that reward was now the business of Parliament, and he doubted not their justice.

The clause was agreed to.

Mr. STEWART reported from the committee on the petition respecting the Tyrone navigation, that petitioners had fully proved the allegation of their petition, and moved that the House should agree with committee's report.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he had no doubt but persons who were interested to think so would think that nothing could be more reasonable, than for the public first to make a canal, and then to maintain it in repair for their use toll free; but the duty of his situation called upon him to protest against such an improvident waste of the public money. Any canal which, when once finished, was unable to support itself, could be no object to the public, and should not be maintained at the public charge. The principle of making the nation pay the expense of local convenience had already cost her more than her whole funded debt, and he was sorry to find that principle still existing.

Mr. STEWART said nothing in this business had been done by surprise, but every thing fair and openly; the committee had examined the most respectable evidence, and after taking much pains to investigate the subject, had made up their report. He requested the right honourable baronet to recollect how very essential coals were to the bleaching business, and consequently to the

staple manufacture of the kingdom, as appears from the petition of the five counties bordering on Lough Neagh, every thousand pieces of linen requiring in the operation necessary to bleaching, thirty tons of coals. He observed that the right honourable baronet was mistaken in supposing that it was intended to charge the public with the whole expence of keeping the canal in repair, in order to let goods pass toll free; coals were the only commodity intended to pass free, all other goods were charged, and the tolls were to be applied to the works of the navigation.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved to adjourn the consideration of the committee's report to the 2d of August. The House divided,

Ayes,	—	16
Noes,	—	23

He then moved, that it be adjourned to the 1st of July. The House divided,

Ayes,	—	14
Noes,	—	22

Mr. BURGH moved the question of adjournment. The House again divided,

Ayes,	—	5
Noes,	—	22

The House being counted, and forty members not being present, the Speaker adjourned the House.

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1788.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of his present Majesty, entitled an act for improving and repairing the turnpike road leading from the city of Dublin to Kilcullen-bridge in the county of Kildare, and to the twenty-one-mile stone, westward to the said bridge, and for creating a fund to complete the said road; which was received and read the first time.

He observed, that to carry the intention of the bill into effect, a sum of not less than 10,000*l.* would be requisite in aid of the turnpike tolls. He had endeavoured to find a fund adequate to this purpose, and he trusted he had discovered one, which, without proving at all burdensome to the people, would be fully adequate. He need not, he said, inform gentlemen, that the corn cars were the principal cause of injury to the Kilcullen road, and if they were, the justice of making them contribute somewhat towards its repair was obvious. He therefore

proposed, that a sum of one halfpenny should be deducted from every shilling paid as bounty on the land-carriage of corn, which would amount to about 4l. 3s. 4d. per cent. and in four years, calculating that same quantity of corn which now receives bounty should continue to do so, would amount to 10,000l. This, he hoped, would be thought perfectly reasonable. There was but one objection to it—that was the trouble it would give the gentleman who pays the corn-bounties; it would, no doubt, oblige him to open a new set of books, and put him to the expence of an additional clerk; but he had consulted that gentleman, and with a liberality that perfectly became him, he had declared himself ready to do it without any expence to the public.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he would not oppose the bill, as it was not to take any thing out of the public coffer; he looked upon it as a mere local convenience, and if the gentlemen concerned were satisfied, he could have no objection.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said with all his partiality to the honourable gentleman, and all the respect he entertained for any production of his, he must confess, that the bill now introduced had struck him as a matter of the most singular nature that ever had been brought into Parliament; and he could not think himself justified in refraining from calling upon every gentleman who valued the corn bounty as a main spring of our agriculture, to stand up and prevent its being frittered away in the repair of turnpike roads. If this bill should pass, he desired to know what should prevent other gentlemen from calling for another part of the corn bounties, for the different roads upon which the corn cars ply? and upon what principle could Parliament refuse a part of the bounty to other roads, if they once set a precedent by granting any to this?

He said he was old enough to remember when this city, and great part of the kingdom, was fed with foreign corn, but since the institution of bounties on the carriage of corn, and bounties on its exportation, great tracts of land, formerly in a state of desolation, had been changed to golden fields; the deserts had become populous to such a degree, he was convinced several counties had increased their inhabitants one-third; the kingdom was not only abundantly supplied for its own consumption, but could afford immense quantities for exportation. All these good effects had commenced and increased with the corn bounties, he was therefore jealous of making any alteration in the system even for a great occasion, but would never consent for the benefit of a turnpike road.

He desired gentlemen to recollect the fund from which the corn bounties were paid—the hereditary revenue, partly a land-tax; were they prepared to adopt the principle of making roads by land-tax? His Majesty had for the benefit of his people, and to

encourage tillage, consented to part with a considerable share of his hereditary revenue; would it be just to apply it to any other purpose than that for which his Majesty had granted it? Certainly not. Upon the whole, the bill appeared to him the most exceptionable in its principle of any thing he ever recollected coming before that House, and as such, he opposed it.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE said he would not in such an early stage of the bill rise to give it opposition, were not its principle utterly inadmissible. He then entered into the policy of the corn laws, which he highly approved, and considered as of too sacred a nature to be lightly infringed. He could not help observing upon the honourable gentleman's argument, that the multitude of cars were the cause of destroying the road. Did not all those cars pay toll and double toll? what further claim then had the honourable gentleman upon them? He had never understood that too much very profitable business could be deemed injurious to a road. He further observed, that the intention was more to make a road of magnificence than convenience. What necessity was there for having it sixty feet wide for several miles, and that at an expence of 10,000*l.* besides, the very large tolls collected? That there could be no such necessity must be apparent to every one who knew that the best roads in the kingdom were those that were made without any turnpike tolls at all.

He said the right honourable gentleman who had spoken just before him had truly observed, that the corn bounties were granted out of his Majesty's hereditary revenue for the purpose of encouraging tillage—to any other purpose they could not be applied, and if gentlemen thought they were too high, (though they do not pay half the expence of the carriage of corn) they were in justice bound to restore them, or so much of them as they deemed superfluous, to the King's treasury again.

The bill was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading to-morrow.

Mr. WILLIAM FOSTER moved that the House do resolve itself into a committee on the Dunleer turnpike-bill.

The Honourable Mr. ANNESLEY said he rose to oppose the bill; it had been his wish to have it printed, in order that the House might have been better able to judge of its tendency, of which, were they fully possessed he would have no occasion to debate the subject; but the bill not having been printed, it was now necessary to explain to the House, that it was somewhat more than a turnpike-bill, and infinitely greater in its consequences. But before he proceeded, he would desire the clerk to read over the names of the present commissioners, and did request that any gentleman would point out, which of them had deserved to be treated in the disrespectful manner intended by the bill.

[The clerk accordingly read over the names of the present commissioners of the Dunleer turnpike road.]

These, he said, are the commissioners, their characters are respectable, and their number very considerable; what then will the House think, when I inform them, that those commissioners, numerous and respectable as they are, have not had the slightest intimation of the honourable gentleman's intention to bring in a bill, which directs, that the first Monday after the passing thereof, these noblemen and gentlemen shall meet and chuse from amongst them five, in whose hands every power relative to the Dunleer turnpike road shall be placed, and from thenceforward the rest shall be discarded from any interference in a work, in which, from their great landed property, they are highly interested? Sir, said he, it is very well known who those five gentlemen will be; [a call of, name them, name them,] I will name them since I am called upon—the two members for the county of Louth—one of them from his high dignity and great ability—

The SPEAKER said he must intimate to the honourable gentleman, that it was not perfectly in order to allude personally to him while in the chair, where he could not reply; but he would, by permission of the House, take the liberty of saying, that he did not desire to be one of the commissioners in question; it would not accord either with his leisure or his pleasure.

Mr. ANNESLEY.—The other commissioners will be the two members for Dunleer, and the gentleman who seconded the motion for bringing in the bill, these are the five; perhaps they are the best that could be chosen, perhaps I should vote for them myself, but I think it would be but decent to have given the other commissioners notice.

If this bill passes, I am sure the powers it conveys will be vested in very proper hands; but I beg leave to say, that those powers are by no means inconsiderable; there is some patronage annexed, three places of fifty-two guineas a year each. The commissioners may carry the road in any line they think proper, and I understand that it is intended to cut out the Man of War, the most considerable inn on the road, and they have powers of stopping up the old road, and leaving out the whole town of Balruderary. How such powers might be applied to purposes of election, the House might easily imagine, as it was well known the members of that House never interfere in elections.

Sir, permit me again to allude to you, I never do it but to bear testimony to your merit. You have with much propriety introduced a custom of having a brief made of every bill, in order to give the members the fullest information on every subject pending before the House. Now, Sir, by some very extraordinary fatality, it happens that in the brief of the present bill, there is not a single word of this clause, which takes away the power of the

present commissioners, nor is there in the bill itself any power to pay the interest of debentures, which interest the last act took away. Sir, I could mention several cases of great hardship, induced by the last bill, particularly that of a captain in the navy, the earnings of whose whole life have been lost through the effects of it. I do not find that the present bill intends any restitution.

I do not consider the bill in the light merely of a turnpike bill, and these are my reasons for voting against it—not any petty ambition in me or my friends to be commissioners of turnpike roads.—Sir, the man who is ambitious is a miserable man; he cannot travel from Dublin to Drogheda, or from Drogheda to Dunleer, without being watched and suspected; my friends are not ambitious, consequently they are more happy.

Sir, I thought it my duty to state this matter to the House; I hope I shall not be thought to have acted wrong; if the House should think differently from me, I bow with submission; but having done my duty, I shall give no farther opposition than opposing the committal.

Mr. W. FOSTER said if he should be able to shew the honourable gentleman, that he had mistaken the purport and tenor of the bill, he hoped he would have his assistance and support. The bill, far from treating the trustees with disrespect, proposed to invest them with powers which they had not before; and as experience had shewn, that very large societies of men scarce ever act with that vigour and attention which smaller bodies exert, it was therefore proposed to place in the hands of a few who would think themselves responsible, the business which had been neglected by the many; for it was most certain, that the present commissioners never had done any thing but appoint a few inspectors.—The bill, he said, was a copy of the Kilcullen turnpike bill; having observed the good effects of that bill, he had taken it as a model, and as to what the honourable gentleman had said about the ambition of being a turnpike commissioner, it could not be imputed to him by any one who would for a moment consider, that the friends of the honourable gentleman were so numerous in the present commissioners, that they might choose whatever five they pleased to execute the power of the bill; and as to the mode of choosing, sure nothing could be more fair than a ballot.

As to the complaints made by the honourable gentleman with respect to the former bill, and relative to the payment of interest, they only tend to prove the necessity of the present bill, and whenever it should be committed, there would be opportunity of redressing them all.

Mr. CORRY said he stood before the House as a culprit under the honourable gentleman's accusation, but certainly a very innocent one; for though he had seconded the bill, he had done it

entirely upon the credit of the honourable mover, and not from any ambition, or any desire of the patronage, which the direction of a turnpike road could convey. The honourable mover had represented to him what he believed was the fact, that this bill was a copy of the Kilcullen road bill, and as the works on that road had been held out as a pattern, and received universal approbation, he was desirous of seeing the same effects produced on the great northern road.

But why the honourable gentleman should single him out as one to be chosen a commissioner, he could not tell; had he shewn any such ambition? To the honourable gentleman he left the ambition of swinging on a turnpike road.

He could not, however, refrain from returning the honourable gentleman his thanks for the lecture he had given on ambition, a passion with which, however, he never would charge him, more especially if he found him in a situation where his tongue was tied up, or where he could not reply; such a mode of attack he should deem incompatible with that ingenuous conduct which should ever distinguish the members of that House.

Mr. ANNESLEY.—I am extremely obliged to the honourable gentleman for giving an opportunity of explaining. Sir, I attack no man, but when called upon by the House to name the persons to whom I alluded I cannot refuse an answer. Have the gentlemen who reply to me been able to shew that I have made any false statement? They have not in a single point.

I have disclaimed all ambition of being included in the number of the honourable gentleman's commissioners; but there is one thing of which I am ambitious, it is of having the confidence of the merchants of Belfast, who have communicated their wishes to me. I know that the merchants of Belfast are at this moment, on account of the mail robberies, devising means of establishing mail-coaches on the North road, the goodness of the road is therefore a principal object, and I am ambitious of preventing its ruin.

The question being put, the House divided,

Ayes	—	—	38
Noes,	—	—	3

The House then resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, and went through the bill.

Mr. CORRY presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend the laws relative to the fisheries on the coasts of this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON presented to the House, according to order, a bill for empowering the grand juries in the several counties to settle the salaries of the treasurers at any amount they shall

think fit, not exceeding 60*l.* per annum ; which was received and read the first time.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1788.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH said on account of the very thin attendance of members, and from the lateness of the session, he would move to withdraw his bill for the more regular payment of interest ; he, however, would introduce it again early in the next session.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider of proper rules and regulations to be observed by persons applying to the House for private bills respecting canals, the making rivers navigable, and the improvement of ports and harbours ; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, the Accountant General reported from the committee that they had come to the following resolutions :

1. Resolved, that after this session of Parliament no bill shall be entertained in this House for making a navigable canal, or making or improving the navigation of a river, or for improving any particular port or harbour, or for altering any act of Parliament for any of the said purposes, unless a petition, praying the same, be first presented to this House, and reported upon by a committee of this House.

2. Resolved, that after this session of Parliament, when any petition shall be presented to this House for making a navigable canal, or making or improving the navigation of a river, or for altering any act of Parliament for the above purposes, there be presented with such petition a plan describing the line of such intended canal or navigation, and the land through which such intended canal is to be carried ; and that one month at the least previous to the commencement of the session in which such petition shall be presented, notice of such intended petition shall be given by advertisement in the Dublin Gazette, and two or more other newspapers usually published in the city of Dublin, and in some one country newspaper, if any such newspaper shall be published in any county or town through which such line is proposed to be carried, and also by advertisement to be posted on the door of the court or session-house, of the county through which such canal is intended to pass, specifying the baronies and towns through, to or near which respectively such canal is intended to be carried, and that a schedule be presented with said petition, stating the tolls or duties intended to be taken on said canal or navigation.

3. Resolved, that when any such petition shall be presented to this House, there shall be annexed thereto an estimate of the

proposed expence of such undertaking, signed by the person or persons making the same, specifying whether any and what aqueducts, locks or bridges are to be made, with their separate expence, together with an account of the money subscribed for carrying the said work into execution, and the names of the subscribers, with the sums severally subscribed by them; or if the said work is not proposed to be done by subscription, or only in part by subscription, then an account of the manner in which the expence of said work is proposed to be supplied.

4. Resolved, that a copy of every such petition, and of the several matters to be presented with, or annexed to the same, be deposited with the clerk of this House, fourteen days at the least before the commencement of the session, when such petition shall be presented, and that notice of such intended petition be left with the treasurer of each county in which the said navigation or part thereof, shall be situated, one month at the least previous to the commencement of the said session.

5. Resolved, that when any such petition shall have been presented to this House, the committee to whom it shall be referred shall examine in the first place how far the above orders have been complied with, and the chairman of the said committee shall report the evidence upon such examination to the House on the report of said petition.

6. Resolved, that in every bill for making a navigable canal, or making or improving the navigation of a river, or for improving any port or harbour, there shall be inserted a clause compelling the subscribers for carrying on the said works, where the same are to be carried on in the whole or in part by subscription, to make payment of the sums severally subscribed by them, under pain of forfeiting all their prior deposits, together with their several shares.

The Kilcullen road bill was read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL, previous to reading the bill, declared, that from the thinness of the House, and particularly from the absence of the gentlemen of the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary and Cork, he did not think it would be perfectly right to press the application of part of the corn bounty towards the repair of the road; he would therefore leave out that part of the bill for the present session.

The SECRETARY OF STATE presented to the House, according to order, a bill to amend the laws respecting the law for the relief of prisoners charged with felony or other crimes who shall be acquitted or discharged by proclamation, respecting their fees, and giving a recompence for such fees; which was received and read the first time.

THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1788.

The following message was received from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:

“ Mr Speaker,

“ It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers.”

The Speaker, with the House, went up to attend his Excellency; and being returned, the Speaker reported that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Excellency was pleased to give the royal assent to the following bills:

P U B L I C B I L L S.

1. An act for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an additional duty on wine, hides, beer, ale, and other goods and merchandizes therein mentioned, and for prohibiting the importation of all gold and silver lace, except of the manufacture of Great Britain and France and the French dominions in Europe, and of all hops except the growth of Great Britain and the British Plantations.

2. An act for granting to his Majesty the several aids, duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for such other purposes as are therein mentioned.

3. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties and rates upon the portage and conveyance of all letters and packets within this kingdom, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

4. An act for granting certain aids, duties and impositions to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the time therein mentioned, and for continuing the effect of a treaty of commerce and navigation concluded between his Majesty and the most Christian King

5. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, several duties therein mentioned, to be levied by the commissioners for managing the stamp duties.

6. An act for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties upon malt.

7. An act for regulating the sugar trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

8. An act for the advancement of trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties therein mentioned.

9. An act for regulating and extending the tobacco trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

10. An act for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties upon carriages.

11. An act for regulating the coffee trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties therein mentioned upon coffee.

12. An act to promote the linen and hempen manufacture, by encreasing the supply of Irish flax-seed, and encouraging the export of linens and sail cloth, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

13. An act for granting to his Majesty the duty therein mentioned, to be paid to the trustees of the Royal Exchange.

14. An act for licensing hawkers and pedlars, petty chapmen and other persons.

15. An act for granting certain duties upon licenses to be taken out by the several persons therein mentioned.

16. An act for granting the sum of 6000*l.* to the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, for the purposes therein mentioned.

17. An act for granting the sum of 4000*l.* to the trustees of the linen manufacture.

18. An act for granting the several sums therein mentioned for certain pious and charitable purposes.

19. An act for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the Dublin Society for the purposes therein mentioned.

20. An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters within this kingdom.

21. An act for continuing an act, entitled an act for facilitating the trade and intercourse between this kingdom and the United States of America.

22. An act to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his present Majesty's reign, entitled an act for establishing a post-office within this kingdom.

It was resolved, *Nem. Con.* that the thanks of the House be given to the right honourable the Speaker, for the excellent speech made by him at the bar of the House of Peers on presenting the money bills this day, and that he be requested to print the same.

It was resolved, that an humble address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he will be pleased to give directions to his Majesty's Attorney General to prosecute the following persons, viz. George Roe, head keeper of the New Prison, and Charles Walsh, turnkey thereof, for the offences severally specified in the report of the committee of the House, appointed to take into consideration the state and management of the several gaols and prisons in this kingdom.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the bill to regulate the admission of freemen, Sir Francis Hutchinson in the chair.

Lord NAAS said that the bill was highly objectionable ; and in order to get rid of it, he would move that the chairman do leave the chair.

Mr. BOLTON contended that the bill was a very necessary one, and went to prevent many abuses that prevailed at elections for members to serve in Parliament for corporate towns and cities.

Captain BURGH condemned the principle of the bill.

On the question being put, that the chairman do quit the chair, there appeared

Ayes	—	—	—	26
Noes	—	—	—	1

Of course the bill fell to the ground.

Mr. MOORE moved that the House be counted, and it appearing that there were only thirty-three members present, the Speaker immediately adjourned.

The Right Honourable the Speaker's Speech to his Excellency George Grenville Nugent Temple, Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, at the Bar of the House of Peers, this day on presenting the Money Bills for the Royal Assent,

" May it please your Excellency,

" The Commons of Ireland, in the year 1785, made a great and spirited effort, by a large encrease of taxes, to form a steady system for the annual supply of the public expense.

" Such a system, desirable in all countries, and at all times, is particularly necessary to a commercial state, where the prospect of new loans must induce fluctuations in the price of money injurious to the steady course of trade.

" It was happily adopted here, and this is the third successive session in which the national debt has not been encreased by any new loan, nor has any new tax been imposed.

" Thus the system has answered ; it seems settled, and the people confide in it. Under its influence public credit has risen high, and private credit, unawed by any fear of interference from the nation's borrowing, extends itself with safety to encourage industry, promote enterprize, and enlarge the commercial capital—manufactures have in consequence been extended, our exports encreased, and the kingdom feels a prosperity unknown in any former time.

"Such are the happy effects of liberal supplies wisely administered; and the Commons, sensible of those effects, do now, with the most dutiful zeal for his Majesty's service, and with the fullest confidence in your Excellency's experienced wisdom and affectionate attachment to this kingdom, grant the same supplies in the bills I have the honour to present to your Excellency, in their name, for the royal assent."

FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1788.

Several bills were read a second and third time, and then the House adjourned.

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1788.

The House proceeded to take into consideration the report from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of proper rules and regulations to be observed by persons applying to the House for private bills respecting canals, the making rivers navigable, and the improvement of ports and harbours.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he had a petition to offer against them; the petition, he said, was from the Grand Canal Company, and stated, that should these resolutions be confirmed, they would very materially affect the company's interests: they therefore prayed, that the House would postpone their determination, and allow time for the subject to be duly weighed and considered. They also prayed liberty to be heard by their counsel at the bar, against the resolutions.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he should not oppose deferring the consideration of the resolutions for any reasonable space of time, if a single gentleman would declare, that he could disavow this principle, but if their principle was founded upon the plainest of all truisms, then the postponement of them could answer no purpose but that of unnecessary delay, a mode that had been sometimes used to get rid of questions so obviously proper, that no man could be hardy enough to openly oppose. He called upon gentlemen to say which of the resolutions was improper or unreasonable: was it unreasonable when people made application for public money, that the public should know what they intended to do with it? Was it unreasonable to bind persons who receive public money, to lay out that money under the conditions and for the purposes declared at the time of applying?

Was it unreasonable to oblige the undertakers of canals, to give notice to the persons through whose estates they intended to carry their works? If these were unreasonable resolutions, they had taken the rule by which England had long acted, and he thought it would be no injury to this country, were she to copy the mode adopted by England, on a subject in which that country had been so eminently successful. He declared, that as the resolutions were intended to promote the completion of canals, in his opinion they would most effectually answer that purpose.

He observed, that as the only way in which the public can benefit by canals, is by the cheapness of water carriage arising from low tolls, it was not unreasonable that the public, when they grant money towards carrying any canal scheme into effect, should stipulate for keeping the tolls so low as to reimburse them the money so granted.

Mr. GRIFFITH pressed the necessity of granting more time for consideration; he admitted that most of the resolutions were well founded, and all might be made useful, was reasonable time allowed to modify such parts as were destructive; in particular he complained of undertakers being obliged to give notice individually to each person who might be interested in lands through which works were to run, many of whom might be disinclined to receive such notice, others might be absentees and out of the reach of personal notice; this, therefore, he thought was the death-blow to the undertaking of any future canal unless it could be modified, and he therefore thought instead of special notice being served on each proprietor individually, that general notice in the newspapers, fourteen days before the session of Parliament, might be deemed sufficient. He objected also to binding undertakers to complete the works they might begin; let Parliament rather look to the men to whom they might grant aid, than bind them up. If men of straw should offer, let Parliament reject them; but where men of character and property engaged, they should be left to pursue their own interests under the guidance of their own discretion.

Mr. STEWART (of Killymoon) complained of the precipitation with which the resolutions were hurrying forward, and proposed to defer the further consideration of them to the first of August.

Mr. BURGH (Accountant-general) said that he did not see any reason for opposing these resolutions, nor did he suspect any intention in Government to overturn the appropriation of the tillage duties. Government exercised a true œconomy; they did not intend to starve our projects, but to restrain the grants to the bounds of honesty.—Can we commence that system too soon? If it had been adopted half a century ago he would not perhaps

say as he now did, that we had little to shew for half a million of money expended on canals and such works. No man he said, can speak truth and accuse Government of the want of liberality. Your debt three times told does not amount to the sums that have been paid in premiums, bounties, king's letters, and parliamentary grants for public purposes, to which we must add, the self-denial of the tillage duties, a sum altogether not less than 7,122,000*l*. He said, when an English gentleman was asked from Dublin to any friend's house in the country, he naturally imagined he could travel by canal, as in Holland—but it was not so, one line only excepted, which runs thirty-two miles. The more he saw the more he wondered what is become of a sum of money that was sufficient to cover the whole kingdom with gold-leaf!

He said, it was not the object of himself or his right honourable friend to put any determined bounds to expence but the bounds of common honesty. We take the example from England's rule of Parliament and the law of the land in Ireland. Can any man get a shilling at a grand jury presentment without plan or estimate? And can he recover his grant without sworn evidence to the expenditure? Shall we then be such fools as to deny ourselves that care in our aggregate capacity that we insist upon in each and every county? It would be a shame for Parliament to teach them such a slovenly trick.

Gentlemen, said he, treat covenants as a novelty, which, in fact, is one of the oldest doctrines that we know of. On that very memorable occasion, when all the living world had assembled together in distress of weather, that laudable doctrine was taught to Noah—"I will keep my covenant with you."

He said that as a subscriber to canals, he felt no objection to the general wording of the resolutions; two or three words as explanatory were wanting, rather to support the meaning than diminish the effect.

He said if examples were wanting to shew the necessity of these resolutions, he would read the necessity in the various petitions of the Grand Canal. One asserts, that all valuable articles shall be a toll of two-pence a mile, and that bricks, soil, manure, &c. shall be carried for a halfpenny a ton per mile.

In this the company does not desire one shilling from Parliament, they ask only to borrow 50,000*l*.—for this loan, which is to be very honestly repaid, they were to go to Athy, harbour of Dublin, and the river Shannon.

Another petition asserts, that they will procure plans and estimates, together with proposals for the execution of their works, to be laid before Parliament—and accordingly they did not do it.

Their own expences have exceeded their ideas and calculations above 150,000*l*. and the project is not half finished. They have done a good work in opening a communication with the Barrow, for out of nineteen counties that draw corn-bounty, twelve will

come by the Barrow and Canal, and of 182 miles 136 will send by water; on this project the public may make a considerable saving.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON said that the printing of the resolutions in the journals would be sufficient notice to the country, and moved that they be taken into consideration the 20th of January, 1789.

Mr. COLVILLE said he was of opinion, that the resolutions before the House, in their general tendency, were not objectionable, although some particular ones ought to be altered; they were however ill-timed and unnecessary, as the House next session of Parliament would have it in its power to insist on any terms deemed reasonable, before acts of incorporation were granted to particular companies of undertakers. He was confident the present Administration was too wise not to wish sincerely to promote private subscription, for carrying on the inland navigation of the kingdom; but he feared these resolutions might repress and discourage individuals, as they were unexpectedly brought in at the end of the session, when gentlemen were out of town, whose opinions on subjects affecting the domestic œconomy of the country ought to be listened to with attention. He stated that extensive ideas of inland navigation had first been taken up in Ireland about the year 1730.—Since that period, which was more than half a century, works of this kind had been carried on entirely at the public expence, except in the instance of the undertakers of the Grand Canal. Experience had shewn that the public, as directors, had not succeeded, and it was also as evident, that the small aid of public money given to the corporation for carrying on the Grand Canal was inadequate, as this great work had been saved to the nation, through a long and distressing struggle, by the vigorous performance of the proprietors—that a medium between these extremes was the policy he had long wished to see taken up, and if the public gave one-third instead of one-fifth of the expence, of private subscriptions, with all the other advantages granted in the year 1772 to the undertakers of the Grand Canal, he thought it would effectually accomplish the most extensive and noble scheme of inland navigation perhaps in Europe. He said a very few years, at a small expence to the public, would finish these canals, and when they were compleated, he did not hesitate to declare, that he could point out a considerable annual saving on the inland bounties, on corn, malt and flour to Dublin; and yet clearly shew, that this system (peculiar to Ireland) would remain improved and invigorated, and could be defended on every principle of sound policy.—He said the resolutions, by appearing in the votes, may answer every useful purpose for which they were intended; and in his opinion, stopping these will be a safer measure than hazarding a check to many private subscrip-

tions which he had the pleasure to inform the House were now going forward with very great spirit, and which promise the greatest advantages to the kingdom.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he was convinced if reasonable time was allowed, every objectionable part of the resolutions might be removed. The business had been taken up so hastily, that gentlemen had not had time to consider it, or to furnish themselves with argument on the subject; but he trusted the very inefficacy of his argument would furnish a proof that time should be allowed for consideration. One thing, however, was obviously injurious—undertakers were to be bound to follow the plan and line upon which they should set out, and no other, though in their process they might find their first line impracticable, and discover another that would be easily effected.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said the conduct of that House had never warranted an opinion, that they would deal severely to any body of men that should act with integrity. The intention of binding men to perform their contracts in the particular manner defined by their plans and estimates, could have no other object but to enforce an honest exertion, and a performance, so far as possible, on the part of the undertakers. What part of the conduct of Parliament had ever given ground to suppose that they would distress the unfortunate? None; and if undertakers, acting fairly and honestly, should fail through misfortune merely, whatever Parliament might do to alleviate their misfortune, there was no cause to dread severity.

Mr. BURGH said, an honourable gentleman does not object to plans and estimates, provided the country or line was not to be described. He said he conceived that to be quite unintelligible, for how can a plan be understood except when compared with ground applied to it? How many aqueducts?—how many locks?—how many bridges?—are all localities? Will he give us no better account of the canals than is given of the wind? We are not to know whence he cometh or whither he goeth. He said, he trusted that it was time for Government to make these water gods give a better account of themselves.

The House divided on Sir Edward Crofton's motion,

Ayes,	—	—	12
Noes,	—	—	45

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, as the principle of the resolutions was admitted, he would not object to putting off till Tuesday the further consideration of them; but he trusted gentlemen would not turn to the purposes of delay, what was intended as a postponement for the purposes of deliberation. If any gentleman objected to the principle of the reso-

lutions, he hoped he would now come forward, and candidly avow his objection; for his part he had no apprehension from having them fairly canvassed, because if properly understood, they would invite, and not deter undertakers.

Mr. COLVILLE said he approved much the principle of the resolutions, he thanked the right honourable gentleman for his candour, and doubted not that time being given, the resolutions would be made acceptable to all parties.

MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1788.

The House met, but did not enter on any business that produced debate.

TUESDAY, MARCH 25, 1788.

The House proceeded to take into further consideration the report from the committee to whom it was referred to consider of proper rules and regulations to be observed by persons applying for private bills respecting canals, the making rivers navigable, and the improvement of ports and harbours.

The resolutions being read, were agreed to by the House.

After reading some bills, &c. the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1788.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he understood that the bill he had the honour to introduce had been lost by a long adjournment in another place; there was in that bill a provision for one of the most deserving officers employed by this country, Sir Jerome Fitzpatrick, the inspector general of prisons. The public certainly were much indebted to his care and diligence; and the representatives of the people had with a becoming liberality been unanimous in granting him a reward; however, it had fallen to the ground in another place; he would now move for an address to make good that reward, only the House was so uncommonly thin.

Mr. HOLMES said the reward was a debt of justice to the merits and attention of Sir Jerome; and as the House had acknowledged that debt, he doubted not that Government would act consonant to their intentions. He was sorry to think the bill for enforcing law in prisons had been thrown out in the other

House, but to convince the world that it was well founded, he would move to have the report of the committee on gaols printed, in which there would appear a train of evidence of such enormities as would astonish the public. He then moved that the report of the gaol committee be ordered to be printed.

Mr. GRIFFITH observed, that engineers had been employed at the public expence some time ago, to survey and level certain lines of inland navigation. He thought, as the public had paid those gentlemen, it was but just that the plans, &c. by them made should be put into the hands of the public.

He therefore moved that the several plans, sections and estimates made under the direction of the Navigation Board, pursuant to the resolutions of the House, be laid before the House, together with an account of the expence of the same.

The House adjourned until Friday.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1788.

The following message was received from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the gentleman usher of the black rod:

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers.”

The Speaker, with the House, went up to attend his Excellency, and being returned, the Speaker reported that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Excellency was pleased to give the royal assent to the following bills:

PUBLIC BILLS.

1. An act for using the court-houses of counties at large and counties of cities, where situate within the precincts of the same counties, for the purposes of both counties, and for declaring that gaols for counties at large, situate within counties of cities, shall be deemed part of such counties at large.

2. An act to enable all ecclesiastical persons and bodies, rectors, vicars and curates, and impropriators, and those deriving by, from or under them, to recover a just compensation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1787, in the several counties and counties of cities therein mentioned, against such persons who were liable to the same; and to explain and amend an act made in the twenty-seventh year of his present Majesty’s reign, entitled an act to enable all ecclesiastical persons and bodies, rectors, vicars and curates, and impropriators, and those deriving by, from or under them, to recover a just compensation for the tithes with-

held from them in the year 1786, in the several counties therein mentioned, against such persons who were liable to the same.

3. An act for continuing the encouragement by bounties to the several manufactures therein named for a certain and limited time.

4. An act for building a new and convenient gaol for the county of Cork, and for other purposes relative to said county.

5. An act to continue and amend an act passed in the fifth year of his late Majesty's reign, entitled an act for repairing the road leading from the town of Newcastle in the county of Limerick, to the city of Limerick, and from thence to the city of Cork.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE said he had a motion to make, but previous to his doing so, he wished to know when the recess would take place, and for what time; and if he was not informed in that particular, gentlemen must not blame him for not making the motion, as he did not know what to do with it. [Here was a cry of move after the recess.] He then moved that the grand committee of courts of justice be desired to sit immediately after the recess.

Mr. ROWLEY seconded the motion.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE then called on Mr. Secretary Fitzherbert to know when the recess was to take place.

Mr. FITZHERBERT said he was not certain, but supposed there would be an adjournment to-morrow for a fortnight.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE agreed to postpone the motion till to-morrow, by which there was no question put thereon.

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1788.

Mr. FITZHERBERT moved, "that the House do, at its rising, adjourn to the 11th of April," and the question being put, it passed unanimously.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE moved, "that it be an instruction to the grand committee of courts of justice to sit immediately after the recess"

Mr. CARDINER said he thought the motion of the honourable baronet a very uncommon and particular motion. He must beg that he would inform the House why he made it.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE said nothing but delicacy had prevented him from stating at large to the House the cause of his

making his motion. He considered it as an object of very great importance, and as the person principally concerned in it was now out of town, he deemed it unfair to enter on the business till he should be upon the spot, and for the same reason he wished to refrain from any further explanation.

MR. GARDINER said he had heard of the subject of the motion, and he hoped that justice as well as delicacy would sway the honourable baronet. The person alluded to was now employed upon the business of the crown. That person most ardently wished for an enquiry, but he hoped that enquiry would not take place till he should be present, and have an opportunity of justifying a conduct so much misrepresented. From what he had learned on the subject, he said he could assure the House that the common report was not at all to be relied upon.

SIR HENRY HARTSTONGE said he hoped it was manifest to the House, that as he had no other object in view than justice, so he had proceeded with delicacy and candour. He had written to the gentleman in question, to inform him of his intention, and had enclosed him an exact copy of the charges; that gentleman had desired an enquiry, which was the only point which the present motion tended to; but it would not at all redound to his honour, were the present session to expire without that enquiry taking place.

SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN.—I have been in that part of the kingdom where the circumstance which is the cause of the present motion is said to have happened, and I am convinced that there was nothing in the conduct of the learned gentleman alluded to, in the slightest degree reprehensible; he acted agreeable to law and to his duty, for a judge has what the law calls a *sanus discretio*, which he has exercised, and not improperly.

I do therefore, Sir, think that the House should be extremely cautious of entering hastily into any measure which can seem to cast a censure on the gentleman in question. The character of a judge is as delicate as that of a lady, and an injurious aspersions, however undeserved, is with infinite difficulty wiped away; at the same time that I speak thus, give me leave to hope that the House will not suppose I would screen any man from justice, even the person alluded to, whom I so highly respect and esteem; yet I am convinced, from the most diligent enquiry, that he has not acted from any improper motive, but at the very worst, through an error in judgment, to which all men are liable—I think the motion unnecessary.

The question being put, “that it be an instruction to the grand committee of courts of justice, that they sit immediately after the recess,” it passed in the affirmative.

It was ordered, that David Fitzgerald of Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick; Richard Maunfell, Esq; of Limerick; Edward Croker, Esq; of Ballinagard, in the county of Limerick; and William Caldbeck, Esq; one of his Majesty's counsel at law, do attend the said committee at the same time.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE moved, that the House be called over on Friday the 11th of April. This, he said, would be shewing fair play to every one.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he did not suppose that a call of the House would answer any useful purpose so very late in the session, though he thought the subject to be considered a very serious and important one; and being up, he felt himself obliged to say, in contradiction to what a right honourable baronet [Sir Lucius O'Brien] had advanced, that the proceeding complained of was not a legal proceeding. It might perhaps be justified by necessity, but certainly it was not a legal proceeding.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he could see no necessity for calling over the House, and he was certain, as very few members would attend, the call could have no other effect than to make the public suppose that the House had already decided in the business that was to come before them; for this reason, and as he wished the House should not meet under any prepossession, he was against the motion for a call.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE said he did not see the business in that light at all—it was because he was not under prepossession, and because he wished to decide with wisdom and justice, that he desired to have such a number of able men as composed that House called to his assistance.

The question on the call being put, was negatived without a division.

The House took into consideration the amendments made by the Lords to the bill for the improvement of barren lands.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said it appeared that in the House of Lords a clause had been introduced into the bill, which had no manner of relation to the subject and intention thereof, but which had made it the most rank and complete nonsense that ever had come before the House of Parliament. This clause was taken from an act of Edward VI. and the proposers of it, without considering that the present bill was intended for the ease of the subject, and that tithe causes were tried in Ireland in a much more summary manner, and with much less expence and embarrassment than in England; without considering that the clause went universally to all tithe causes, and that the present only regarded the improvement of barren lands, had thrust this clause

into it, by which it was impossible now to read the bill; to common sense, law or grammar. This, however, was certain, that should the House admit it, instead of giving encouragement to the subject, they would only put them to enormous expence, vexation and embarrassment in all the causes whatsoever. He repeated, that the clause made the bill absolute nonsense, utterly beyond the capacity of the House to amend, and was, indeed, a stile of legislation of which he had never before met with an example. He thought that it was much better to lose the good which the bill was intended to produce, than to incur the evils which would necessarily flow from the absurd and ridiculous amendment. He therefore moved, that the further consideration thereof be postponed to the 29th of September.

Mr. DAY said he thought the clause an improper one. No prohibition could go under this act in the usual summary manner upon motion, though the matter of the suggestion be ever so clear or sufficient, but the party suing must, in all cases, declare in prohibition. Thus, though the sum in contest be but 5s. the party suing for the prohibition must incur all the expence and delay of an action before he can restrain the inferior court from proceeding. He thought, also, the proving by two witnesses highly exceptionable, not only as oppressive, but introducing a civil law principle into the temporal courts, a thing not to be endured; and said, if double costs were to be paid by either party they should by both.

The SECRETARY OF STATE declared he did not see those objections which struck other gentlemen. If the inferior court should exceed its jurisdiction, the court above, on application, would certainly grant a prohibition in the usual manner. The clause was taken from an English act, and he thought very innocent.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL declared the more he considered the clause the more difficult and perplexing he found it. It referred to Ecclesiastical Courts and Judges, though not a syllable had been said in the whole bill about them, and that was the consequence of transcribing hastily a clause from an English act, without adopting the whole. It was impossible by any amendment to make sense of nonsense, and he again moved to postpone the consideration of the bill to the 29th of September.

The bill was rejected.

FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1788.

The House met pursuant to adjournment, and as soon as the Speaker took the Chair,

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE called the attention of the House: He said, that previous to the last adjournment, he had the honour to move, that the grand committee of courts of justice do sit on this day; his motive for moving for that committee was, that the conduct of a learned judge who went the last Munster circuit, in respect to a trial that took place at Limerick, should be enquired into; a conduct which had given much uneasiness in that part of the country, and which he apprehended was not altogether so very legal; the ground of the trial was on an ejectment brought by Crosbie Morgell, Esq; against Mr. David Fitzgerald of Ballingarry, in the county Limerick, for some houses and lands he held by lease from Alexander Cornwall, Esq. He declared that in this business he was by no means influenced by any motives of the least personal nature to the learned judge, but in bringing it forward, he thought it was only discharging that duty which he owed to his constituents and to the public. He said that he had a petition from Mr. Fitzgerald, the party aggrieved, to present, stating the whole of the transaction, which he begged might be now received.

A petition of David Fitzgerald, of Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick, farmer, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the petitioner is a protestant landholder of the said county, in moderate circumstances, who has heretofore sustained an irreproachable character, and by honest industry has been enabled to earn a decent livelihood for himself and family; that the petitioner did several years since take two separate leases of some ground and houses in and near the said town of Ballingarry, from Alexander Cornwall, Esq; deceased, which ground and houses he has since continued in possession of; that the interest of the said Alexander Cornwall has since been purchased by Crosbie Morgell, Esq; a practising attorney of considerable fortune and extensive influence in the said county; that shortly after the said Crosbie Morgell had so purchased the said interest, he brought an ejectment on the title against the petitioner, alledging that the leases which the petitioner had so taken from the said Cornwall were forged leases; that the petitioner upon being served with the said ejectment, applied to several of the counsel who usually go the Munster circuit to undertake his defence, but found they were all engaged by the said Crosbie Morgell, and even those whom he omitted to retain, refused to be concerned against him for the petitioner, insomuch that the petitioner was obliged, at a very heavy expence, which he is very ill able to bear, to bring down Mr. Serjeant Toler and Mr. Caldbeck, from Dublin to Limerick to defend him upon the trial of the said ejectment; that the said ejectment was brought down to trial by the said Crosbie Morgell, at the last assizes for the county of Limerick, and the same was accordingly called on to be tried before

Mr. Baron Hamilton; that after the said Crosbie Morgell had given evidence of his title to the premises in question by purchase from the said Alexander Cornwall, the petitioner entered into proof of the leases under which he claimed, and disclosed the whole of the evidence which he had to produce, in order to shew that his said leases were fair and genuine leases, and totally free from all suspicion of forgery; that after the petitioner had so disclosed his evidence, the said Baron Hamilton thought fit, arbitrarily and illegally, as the petitioner most humbly submits, to discharge the jury who had been impannelled to try the said ejectment, alledging that the trial of it was likely to take up too much of his time, although the petitioner did by his counsel repeatedly object to such a proceeding, and although it was an early hour when the said Baron Hamilton thought fit so to discharge the said jury; that the pretence made by the said Baron Hamilton for such his arbitrary and illegal conduct was, that there was a weight of crown business to be done, which made it necessary; yet the said Baron Hamilton, as the petitioner has been informed, did immediately after he had so discharged the said jury, go to dinner at the Mayoralty-house of Limerick; that the petitioner is irreparably injured by such the illegal, oppressive, and arbitrary conduct of the said Baron Hamilton, inasmuch as the petitioner has disclosed the whole of the evidence which he had to produce in defence of his character and property, and has been denied the benefit of a verdict of his countrymen upon it; and inasmuch as he was obliged, at a very great expence, to bring down counsel from Dublin to defend him upon the trial of the said ejectment, which expence he never can bear again; and therefore praying relief.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE then moved, that the petition be referred to the Committee on courts of justice; which was agreed to.

The Honourable DENIS BROWNE observed, that it would be necessary before the House proceeded further, to acquaint the learned Judge with the petition which had just been preferred against him.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE said he had already informed him, by letter, of the charges he intended to make, and these charges were in substance the same with the petition.

Mr. SERJEANT HEWIT.—The hon. Baron does not wish to postpone the enquiry a single moment; all he desires is a fair and candid examination of his conduct; and that as soon as the House shall think proper.

The SECRETARY OF STATE.—As to the honourable Baron himself, the candour of the gentleman who brings forward the petition has rendered any further notice unnecessary; but we are to consider the dignity of our own proceedings, and when we are engaged in a matter of such high importance, we cannot proceed with too much solemnity and attention to necessary forms. I should be sorry it should appear, that we had neglected to give due notice to the honourable Baron. I therefore move you, Sir, that the Clerk of this House be directed to acquaint the honourable Baron with the matters contained in the petition which has just been read.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE.—I am much obliged to the right hon. gentleman for his kind interference—I only wish to be put in the right way.

It was ordered by the House that the Clerk do inform the hon. Baron Hamilton, agreeable to the Secretary of State's motion; and having also ordered that the evidence in this business be examined in the most solemn manner, the House adjourned for half an hour.

The House having resumed, immediately resolved itself into a committee for courts of justice, the Prime Serjeant in the chair.

The following witnesses were then sworn:

William Caldbeck, Esq; one of his Majesty's Counsel at Law.

Richard Maunsell, Esq;

Edward Croker, Esq; and

Mr. David Fitzgerald.

Mr. Caldbeck was first examined,—He said he went to Limerick as counsel for Mr. Fitzgerald. The court sat a little after nine in the morning, Friday 29th. The plaintiff stated a short case, merely that he had a lease from Lord Cork and Orrery; this recited other leases, which obliged him to go into farther trial, which took a good deal of time; his recollection did not serve to say how long. The defendant then stated his case, and by the time he had gone through his proofs it was between three and four o'clock; he could not be exact as to time as he would wish on this occasion, not having supposed any complaint would have been made. When the defendant had finished, the counsel of the plaintiff rose to state another case. In this they had proceeded not very far, perhaps not fifteen or twenty minutes, when Baron Hamilton perceiving, that the case seemed to take a different turn from what was expected, (for at first it was imagined that the plaintiff intended to set aside the leases on a charge of forgery) counsel rising with a map in his hand, which seemed to involve a question of part and parcel, the Baron enquired what length of time the case would take up? The answer was, three or four hours—does not exactly recollect. This occasioned something to be said by the counsel on both sides, after which Mr.

Duquery, plaintiff's counsel, proceeded again. The Baron said, he feared it would be impossible to go through with the trial, there were so many criminals in actual custody to be tried; that he apprehended it was of more consequence to the public to discharge the jail than to proceed on the ejectment. He ordered the Clerk of the Crown to be called, and believes he was called; he then called upon the parties to consent to withdraw a juror, which the counsel for the defendant declined doing, and believes the counsel for the plaintiff did so likewise; this occasioned a good deal of confusion in the court; much was said, and very often two or three spoke together, on both sides; this lasted for a considerable time; recollects again hearing the Clerk of the Crown called—cannot say whether he attended; the jury were then called over, and in the confusion cannot say whether the last man answered his name, but knows they were discharged, and as soon as witness could get out of the crowd he left the Court; thinks both sides refused to withdraw a Juror; cannot tell whether there was a full jail or not; believes when the Judge called the Clerk of the Crown, he ordered the Sheriff to return another jury.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD.—Q. When were the assizes to end? Did you not hear they were to end next day, and that there were a great number of criminals?

A. I protest I do not know; I heard nothing of the quantity of business civil, or criminal.

Q. Do not you think it the bounden duty of a Judge to deliver the gaol?

A. It is a matter of legal opinion, and I am unwilling to give opinions upon oath.

Q. What time did you leave the court?

A. 'Tis only by putting circumstances together that I can answer that question. I believe it was six o'clock when I got to dinner, but upon such occasions the time frequently seems longer than it is.

Q. Did you hear the learned Judge make any preparations for business when you were going away?

A. I heard the Clerk of the Crown twice called, and am almost certain I heard the Sheriff called.

Q. Did you not then conclude he was anxious to go upon business?

A. I did think he was going to proceed on criminal trials.

Q. Did you hear what time he left the court?

A. I have heard different things, but do not know how to give credit to them.

Q. Do you think he was there when you were at dinner?

A. No.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE.—Q. What do you think was his reason for acting as he did?

A. I have no ground to form an opinion upon.

Q. From what you know of the learned Judge, do you think he could have had any possible motive, but a desire to finish the business of the Crown?

A. I always had a very high opinion of him, and a great regard for him—but I can form no opinion of his reason for acting so.

Q. Was the Baron a Crown Judge?

A. I never was at Limerick before, so am unacquainted with the mode of proceeding there—but was told he was both civil and criminal Judge.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE.—Mr. Caldbeck, you are a man of truth, great information and long experience—did you in your practice ever know a juror withdrawn without the consent of the parties?

A. I never was present when such a thing was done.

Mr. CURRAN.—Q. Was counsel taken down specially on both sides?

A. Yes.

Q. Was the general power of a Judge to discharge juries without the consent of the parties, argued and denied?

A. It was strongly.

Q. You opposed discharging the jury—but the Baron urged the necessity, and made the order in contradiction to your wish—did he make it from that necessity?—You said the matter took a new course, and seemed to involve question of part and parcel; have you not found those the longest questions?

A. They often take a long time.

Q. And this was a surprise on you?

A. I did not expect it.

Q. Was there any assurance that the trial would last but five or six hours?

A. The learned Judge said so. I do recollect he told Mr. Duquerry he was ready to go on for a certain time, how long I cannot say.

Mr. DUNN.—Q. When a juror is withdrawn, is not the effect that the defendant continues in possession?

A. It is.

Q. Could not the plaintiff have non-suited himself after hearing the evidence of the defendant?

A. He could.

Captain BURGH.—Q. If the plaintiff and defendant had made a bargain with the Judge for a certain space of time, could

not either of them have rendered it ineffectual by making long speeches, or reading useless papers?

A. They might.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD said, it had now fully appeared, that the motive of the Honourable Baron was to dispatch the public business in preference to a private suit; he did conceive that he was authorised so to do. Since that time the matter had become a subject of much public conversation, and upon the most mature deliberation, and hearing the opinions of his learned brethren, he has been inclined to think that he exceeded his authority, but he acted from the best of motives.

Mr. GRIFFITH.—I speak to order. I do not think any gentleman is warranted to stand up in his place, and make acknowledgments for the Honourable Baron who is the subject of our consideration.

Mr. MARCUS BERESFORD.—I would not venture to do so if I was not authorised.

Mr. Caldbeck then retired, and a conversation arising amongst the members, upon the necessity of calling in the other witnesses,

Mr. DENIS DALY said, I am convinced that if the whole of the evidence is not examined, we shall neither do honour to ourselves or to the learned Judge; every man, therefore, who regards the character of the House, or wishes to see that of the learned Judge fully vindicated, will vote to examine evidence in the fullest manner.

The several evidences before-mentioned were then called, and examined; but their testimony differed nothing from that of Mr. Caldbeck.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE requested that Mr. Serjeant Toler would speak his opinion on the subject—he had been present in the court.

Serjeant TOLER said, as he had been called upon, he felt that his duty to the House, to the public, and to the individual accused, all impelled him to deliver his opinion. He was in court on behalf of the defendant, a man whom he and the public considered as much aggrieved; he felt for him at the time, and endeavoured to avert the resolution of the Judge; but he was astonished to think that the matter should ever become of such consequence as to occupy the attention of that committee. He had had no communication with the learned Judge since the affair; he had purposely kept out of his way; he thought at the time he was mistaken, and he said so in very strong terms; but the Baron had made up his mind, from a conviction of the necessity

of going into the criminal trials; and, he said, he was convinced he acted upon a principle of duty, and though mistaken, with the most fair and honourable intentions: However, if the business had not been thus taken up, he would have brought it before a superior court of justice; but he by no means thought it worthy the notice of Parliament, nor could he imagine how any one could deem it of sufficient importance to come there.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—As to the discharging of a jury without the consent of the parties, there is no man of professional character that will defend or justify it; it was an illegal act, it was without precedent, and I trust never will be repeated; but it was an error in judgment, an error arising from a good motive, a wish to discharge the gaol; and as it is not attempted to be justified, and as upon reflection the learned Judge has altered his opinion, I wish to have the matter buried in oblivion, because there is no charge of any corrupt or dishonourable motive; if there was, our resolution should be to address for the removal from the Bench of any Judge that could be guilty of corruption; but in the case before the committee, the motive of the Judge was most pure, though much mistaken, I therefore wish the matter for ever buried in oblivion; and that it may, I move you, Sir, to leave the chair.

The question being put, that the chairman do now leave the chair, it passed unanimously.

The House being resumed,

MR. CURRAN preferred a complaint against Mr. Chatterton, king's counsel, associated as judge with the judges of assize in the counties of Tipperary, Cork, and Waterford, for some informality in his proceedings at Clonmel.

MR. CHATTERTON rose to make his defence, and a conversation arose, so interlarded with law quotations, that the House seemed to wish to get rid of the subject.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1788.

SIR JOHN BLAQUIERE moved that the treasurer or other proper officer of every county within this kingdom, do return to this House, in the second week of the next session of Parliament, an account when each respective infirmary was first opened for the reception of patients, and how many beds it contained at the opening; the number of beds it contained on the 25th December, 1787; the number of patients admitted therein since the establishment, distinguishing each year; the amount of subscriptions and benefactions, with the names of the subscribers and

benefactors, and all funds which are appropriated for the support of the same; the name or names of the surgeon or surgeons appointed to attend the same, the salary each receives, the time when appointed, and the state of the house or hospital employed as an infirmary, and where and how the same is situate.

Mr. CORRY said that some time ago he had moved for a committee to enquire into the state of the Hospitals and Infirmarys in this kingdom, and in the course of the enquiry, much information had been received from Mr. Howard. That he should lay a state of as far as had been gone into the business, before the right honourable baronet, and he should be happy to co-operate with him in carrying his humane intentions of enquiring into the state and regulations of the several infirmaries or other public hospitals, into effect. He said much thanks were due to the right honourable baronet, for these exemplary acts of humanity, exercised on a late occasion, (when he moved for an enquiry into the state of bridewell) which had been the means of rescuing numbers from disease, want, and wretchedness, and restoring them to health and comfort. He threw out the idea of the propriety of each parish taxing themselves for the support of an infirmary to be established in every parish.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he was of opinion, that if the funds appropriated for the support of the infirmaries and public hospitals were properly applied, much greater relief could be given, than what generally is. He said that part of his intended plan would be respecting the qualifications of surgeons attending county hospitals; and to entitle them to such appointments, they must belong to the College of Surgeons.

The account moved for was ordered.

Mr. CORRY prefaced his bringing up the report of the committee appointed early in the session to enquire into the state of the manufacture of ashes in this kingdom, with saying, that the report, from the nature of it, was exceedingly voluminous, that the committee had collected every possible information that could be had on the subject, and the evidence given before the committee was given at large in the report.—He moved that the report be now received.

The report was received, and ordered to lie on the table.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he wished that the report should be printed.

Mr. CORRY then moved, that the report and the several papers annexed thereto, be printed.

Mr. MASON observed, that the report was very voluminous, and he did not think it any way necessary to print the whole of it, as it might be abridged. In his opinion it would be creating a very unnecessary expence.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said, the report was on a subject on which a difference of opinion was entertained; the manufacture of home made ashes, has been an object of the Linen Board since the year 1783; and as there was a difference of opinion on that head, it would be but proper to see the whole of the evidence that was given before the committee, and by that means the public mind will be satisfied. He observed that the report was on a subject the most essential to our staple manufacture, and he was for having it printed, let the expence be what it may; and admitting it did cost one, two, or even five hundred pounds, in his opinion, when a subject of such importance was concerned, it was by no means unnecessary.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he had no other objection to the printing of the report, but the expence. In his opinion it might be abridged; and he believed there were but very few members who would give themselves the trouble of reading such a voluminous report.

Mr. CORRY said that every gentleman except one, who had been examined before the committee, was in favour of the encouragement of home made ashes. He pointed out a mode by which a considerable saving might be made in the printing of the report, and that it would cost very little more than the expence of the paper; but he contended that the printing of it, by which so much information might be had, and what was so very essential to the linen manufacture, was absolutely necessary. He said there was an appendix to the report, by which any part of the evidence might be immediately referred to.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that it more immediately concerned the Linen Board to have the report printed, and in his opinion the House ought not to interfere in the business, but leave it entirely to the Board.

It seemed to be the opinion of the House, that the printing of the report should be left to the trustees of the Linen Board.

Mr. CURRAN resumed the subject of last night's debate. He was sorry, he said, to press a subject that must worry the unfortunate gentleman to whom he was obliged to allude, but he could not forget his duty from any personal consideration. The general discretionary power of discharging a jury before verdict, was a point too important to be overlooked, besides there was a want of rank or consequence in the person guilty of such a violation of

the law. Here too, the person charged with doing so, [Mr. Chatterton] had, so far as his language was intelligible, attempted to justify, and at the same time declined to state to the House, though repeatedly called on, whether he had done so or not. He then alluded to the early intimation which he had given of the impropriety of appointing that honourable member an associate judge, the consequence had now manifested the justice of his objections. The South, he said, was now in a state of terror and consternation lest a new and permanent jurisdiction should be established among them, and that gentleman be the judge of it. He said there was no way of preventing that measure but by persevering in his purpose of bringing the honourable member's judicial conduct fully before the House. He knew there were always persons in this country ready to abuse the confidence of any Administration, and to procure a following by little promotions of improper persons, disgraceful to Administration, and ruinous to the public; in which they succeeded because they were not opposed. He would therefore persevere in shewing the measure now decided in the South in its proper colours. He was confident of success. The men of consideration in that province he knew would reprobate it when they were obliged to speak out; and if Administration persevered, they must do it at the expence of the odium that would attend it. He would therefore move, that the grand committee of courts of justice do sit on Friday next—and after that motion was agreed to, he should move that the counsel who attended the trial in the case alluded to at Clonmel, and the Clerk of the Crown for the county of Tipperary, do attend said committee.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE seconded the motion.

Mr. FITZHERBERT said that the honourable member might be assured, that no such commission for the South was intended by Government; and that if any such should ever be recommended to them it should never be adopted without the maturest and nicest consideration. He said the application had been to establish intermediate sessions to be held in the city of Cork; but no steps had been taken in consequence thereof.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he saw no necessity for the committee; he thought the associate had, so far as he was to be understood, admitted the fact; that no person could doubt that his discharging the jury was illegal; that he supposed he had done so through ignorance, and without any bad design; and that as to his justification of it, he supposed the honourable gentleman did not very perfectly comprehend the meaning of the defence that he endeavoured to make. He therefore hoped that the honourable member would not persevere in his motion.

Mr. CURRAN declared he was happy in finding himself at liberty to treat the learned gentleman in question with every possible lenity. That his only object was to save Administration from an odious measure, and to relieve the South from an apprehension of a step, which would, if carried into effect, grievously disturb the public tranquillity. But his fears and theirs must now be at an end—The right honourable members had very much to their honour removed all ground of doubt. The right honourable the Secretary had fairly disclaimed any such appointment. The first officer of the law had declared the illegality of the learned associate's conduct, and had candidly imputed the strange and unintelligible vindications which they had heard, to his not comprehending the tendency of his own words. He was therefore satisfied, the measure so dreaded was at an end. And that he was equally satisfied that Administration would not on any future occasion select a gentleman for the difficult task of judging of other men's offences, whom the highest law officer of the country had so candidly acknowledged incapable of comprehending his own. His public object was therefore obtained, and he was happy in being at liberty to gratify his personal respect for the gentleman, by withdrawing his motion.

MONDAY, APRIL 14, 1788.

The Printer of the Dublin Chronicle, [Mr. William Sleater] was, on the motion of Sir Henry Hartstonge, ordered to the bar, for having in his paper of Saturday the 12th inst. inserted the following paragraph:

“The public now cannot be at a loss to form a right judgment upon the complaint against a respectable Judge, for supposed misconduct at the last assizes of Limerick, when they are informed that in the committee of the whole House, to whom the matter was referred, upon examining the witnesses in support of the complaint only, without requiring any evidence on the part of the person complained of, the committee voted the chairman out of the chair without a dissenting voice.”

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE.—How came you, Sir, to insert that paragraph?

Answer.—Sir, I judged it could not be wrong when injurious aspersions, highly derogatory to an honourable Judge, had gone abroad, to state the matter of fact as a vindication of his injured character.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE.—The paragraph seems to imply that the charge was ill-founded.

Mr. MOLYNEUX.—I have read the paragraph carefully, and I cannot see how it implies any offence at all; there is no doubt as to the matter of fact, and the printer has added no comment whatever.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN.—I think if the proceedings of this House are to be stated at all, they cannot be stated with more modesty or propriety—the writer gives no opinion at all, but merely states the fact; and I am surprised this paragraph should be noticed, when the most injurious aspersions on the Judges of the land, and the most gross misrepresentations of this House pass in other papers with impunity.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—What my honourable friend seems jealous of is the censure implied in the paragraph, as if his charge against the honourable Judge was frivolous; but that was not the case, for it appeared that the honourable Baron was wrong; and though it is allowed that it was but through error of judgment that he acted improperly, yet every one thinks my honourable friend was right in bringing the matter before this House. I hope, therefore, it will be stated to the public, that the chairman was not voted out of the chair because the charge was frivolous, but because that the House saw that the honourable Baron had acted wrong only through error of judgment; and being, from his excellent character, convinced that he could have no improper motive for his conduct, they were determined to overlook it.

Mr. Sleater was then dismissed.

Mr. TRENCH said he had been seldom in the House this session, but he would propose early in the next, if he was in the kingdom, to introduce two measures, of which he wished to give notice.

The one was, to establish throughout the kingdom a correct registry of baptisms, marriages, and burials, to make them authentic and evidence. In this also would be included a power of providing additional or auxiliary grounds for interment, in aid of those now in use, where they may be found necessary.

The other respects a most enormous grievance, the copper coinage. He declared any new import or coinage of copper in the present way, would not be any relief; a pound of copper was not worth more than about eight-pence if in wholesale, but it sold at 64 half-pence, for two shillings and eight-pence, which was a species of destructive traffic, where the profit against the public was 300 per cent.

If the coinage was adulterated by base metal, which might be had under one penny per pound, the profit to the counterfeiter was about 600 per cent. He believed he could offer an effectual remedy,

but reasons of propriety prevented him from stating more; tho' he had considered and was prepared for the subject; he would go into it early the next year. At the present he should only move for leave to bring in a bill respecting the registries and caner-taries.

Several accounts from the Commissioners of Police were presented at the bar, and ordered to lie on the table.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON observed, that more than a fortnight had passed since he had called for those accounts, so that he supposed the secretary of police must have found it a very difficult task, indeed, to draw them up in a proper form; but that some conjecture about them might be made from their accounts of the first year and quarter, delivered in from that board some time ago, some articles of which seemed so very extraordinary, that he thought they ought not to pass unnoticed by the House. Fifty guineas were charged for the attorney's drawing the first Police-bill. He presumed the preparer of the account thought it enormous, for he added—that it was paid by order of Mr. Orde. The bills of four other attorneys amounted to 240*l*. Besides abridgments of the statutes, there were 120*l*. charged for five sets of the statutes at large—two guineas for Johnson's Dictionary—ten guineas for Chambers's Dictionary—seals of office, 41*l*.—a seat in St. Andrew's church, 20 guineas—for writing paper (exclusive of all accompt books) 270*l*. of which more than 100*l*. is for gilt paper—the carpet merchant's bill is 99*l*.—the stone cutter's bill 105*l*.—the looking-glass merchant's 138*l*.

He said, when he considered the respectable characters of the gentlemen who are at the head of that board, he concluded they might have been occupied with the care of the public quiet and order, and have left the care of the expenditure to some of the inferior officers, who had abused their confidence. But, however, he thought it incumbent on that House to shew their disapprobation of such monstrous charges, or else they must expect to find still more extravagant ones in the accounts of next year; and that instead of ten guineas for Chambers's Dictionary, the public would have fifty guineas to pay for the Encyclopedia.

He therefore moved the House to resolve, "that several articles in the accounts delivered to that House, by the Commissioners of Police in this session, were reprehensible and deserved the censure of the House."

Mr. MASON said he was of opinion it would be much better to wait for the report of the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts, who were at the present time auditing the Police accounts, than to come to a resolution, that several of the charges in the accounts were reprehensible, and deserve the censure of the House. Without specifying the particular charges, would be highly improper, and he should therefore give a negative to the resolution.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said it would be rather extraordinary to come to such a resolution as the one now proposed, without particularizing the charge. The Honourable Baronet might as well move a similar resolution respecting the members of this House.

Mr. GRATTAN said, that a matter of this kind should not pass without notice, and although there might be cause of objection to the Honourable Baronet's motion, yet something was necessary to be done upon the occasion; for if the House passed the present accounts in silence, they could never condemn prodigality. It would be absurd to say that any establishment should be tolerated in such useless extravagance as that which had been noticed—other persons might avail themselves of the circumstance, and how could gentlemen censure in one body what they had taken no notice of in another? Would the House therefore sanctify an expence which they could not approve?

For gilt-paper there had been charged 100*l*. Now if gentlemen would calculate what quantity one hundred pounds would purchase, and would divide it amongst the gentlemen of the police, who generally made use of gilt-paper, and estimate how much a man could write, it must be evident that if one-fourth of the paper charged in the year had been used, the gentlemen of the police must have written themselves into a consumption. Here was a physical impossibility against the justice of the charge.

Other very extraordinary charges had been made for books—for sets of the Statutes—for Bollingbroke's Abridgement, &c. This charge he observed, was rather inadmissible, because all these police gentlemen had been aldermen and magistrates prior to the formation of the establishment, and could they be supposed to have not a single law book in their possession?

The charge for Johnson's Dictionary, he observed, was a laughable expence. What could be the intent of it? Did they want to learn to spell correctly? He asked how would gentlemen like a mitimus made out in the stile of Johnson? Upon the whole, he must say, that the quantum of their charges was enormous, and their quality ridiculous; and he thought it most prudent to defer a motion of this kind until next session.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON wished for a committee, and moved that the accounts be taken into consideration on the first of May next.

Mr. MASON said he was against the motion. In the Committee of Accounts next session, all those articles would undergo a scrutiny, and such as should be considered improper, would be pointed out.

The motion was withdrawn.

A petition of the high sheriff and grand jury of the county of Galway, at spring assizes, 1788, was presented to the House

and read; setting forth, that by a late act of parliament infirmaries were to be built in every county in this kingdom, to be erected where the assizes are usually held; that the assizes are held for the county at large in the county of the town of Galway, which is the most western town in the said county, and twenty miles at least distant from any central part of said county, and very inconvenient to the patients recommended as objects for said infirmary; that several gentlemen of property and fortune have, on that account, withdrawn their subscriptions; and therefore praying that said act may be amended, so as that an infirmary may be built and erected in the town of Loughrea, it being the most central part of the said county, to answer the intention of said act.

Mr. CARRY said he rose to inform the gentleman who presented the petition, that a report would be made from a committee on the subject, in which it would be stated, that the infirmary of Galway had been neglected in a most shameful manner. Nothing, however, could be done in the business before next session.

Mr. GRATTAN.—Mr. Speaker, I submit to you certain great principles as propositions to the church—to stand the foundation of future bills, to stand the sentiments of the Commons, and to be (if these sentiments are resisted by a right reverend bench) our acquittal and justification to the public.

The first resolution relates to barren land.

“Resolved, that it would greatly encourage the improvement of barren lands in Ireland, if said lands, for a certain time after being reclaimed, were exempt from the payment of tithes.”

This is a maxim of politics, and requires nothing more for its adoption on the part of the church but the exercise of Christian charity and common sense. This is the law of England—and true in the wilds of America, as well as in England, a principle which barbarity and civilization equally proclaim.

This does not ask any thing from the clergy except the use of their understanding—that they will restrain an unseasonable appetite—postpone a premature voracity. That they will on this occasion indulge themselves in a sagacity superior to that of the fowls of the air who devour the seed, and equal to the wisdom of the hind, who waits for the harvest.—Have mercy on the infant labours of mankind; respect the plough, and instead of dogging its paces as a constable would a felon, imitate the barbarous, but in this instance more civilized Persian monarch, who began his reign by taking the plough in his royal hand, and did homage to that patient instrument which feeds mankind.

To say that the bill in question enriched the community at the expence of the clergy, was but a poor and uncharitable argument, the result of hot counsel, and crabbed sentiments. If it does en-

rich the community—true—but not at your expence—you give nothing. What ! will the eagle come down that you may tithe him, and the stag of the mountain stop at thy bidding? You give nothing except to yourselves and your successors the chance of getting something from that which but for such an encouragement might remain to you and to us, to all eternity, wretched and unprofitable. Supposing therefore that the clergy were in no particular to make sacrifices to the good of their flock, that they were to get every law they asked for themselves, and to assent to none on the behalf of their parishioners—yet still should they accede to this measure—on a principle of enlightened selfishness—on a principle not of piety, but of usury, and to resist it would argue an incapacity to see not only the public interest but their own.

On such a principle of narrow and ignorant precaution had the laity proceeded; they would never have granted the premium on the inland carriage of corn, nor on the export of corn, nor on the export of linen, on the sale of woollen, nor the growth of flax, nor of rape: they would have checked the growth of agriculture, and of manufacture, and of course the growth of tithe. Make the precaution of some of the heads of the church the folly of the laity—extend their principles to us, and we starve the community.

To suppose that the encouragement given to barren lands would lay the foundation of law suits, is only to argue in ignorance of the law—has the law done so with respect to flax, done so with hemp or bog? and yet such laws have existed. Do not they know that the Barren-land-bill was not an original bill, but an extension of the provisions of acts already in existence, from whence none of these consequences had flowed, and therefore this objection only proves the objectors to be, I will not say bad lawyers and bad husbandmen, but to be, I will say in their knowledge of husbandry, and their knowledge of law, vastly inferior to themselves in the science of divinity; and while I excuse the errors of some of the reverend bench, I much honour the sense of those of their own order on that bench, who did most decidedly and explicitly differ from them; who saw that the clergy had a common interest in the country; that it was inconsistent in them to desire to partake of the growth of the kingdom, and to check that growth when the opportunity occurred; who saw the feeble policy of any thing like a little combination against the general sense; who thought the best method of preventing a faction in the laity, was to resist a faction in the church; and who also thought that the two bills, the Hemp-bill, and the Barren-land-bill, recommended by Government, sent up by the unanimous sense of the House of Commons—proved to be useful by the example of Great Britain, and espoused by public wishes, was not exactly the ground on which the Bishops should post themselves against the interest of the community.

I have mentioned that this measure is supported on principles of Christianity.

Isaiah makes two predictions—the one is a denunciation against such as oppose the kingdom of Christ; the second an annunciation to those who receive it, and he makes the point of the curse that very sterility which the enemies of this measure would promote, and the point of the blessing that very fertility which the bill went to encourage: “The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall blossom as the rose.”

I have taken the prediction of Isaiah, and reduced its principle to a resolution, which I have already read, and which I shall have the honour to propound to you, and I put it to grave authority to verify their prophet.

In the measure to which I refer there was a particular compact, if report says true: three bills were brought in, two were to be rejected by the influence of Government in this House, provided the third should pass the Lords, without the opposition of the Church. Thus the public were to receive some benefit, and the excessive zeal of a certain part of the right reverend bench, was to be shielded by the hand of Government from repeated opportunities of exposing their principles.

The compact was fulfilled on the part of Government; two bills were rejected in the House of Commons, by compact, and the third destroyed in the other House, in breach of compact. A minister is, I must suppose, a heretic, with whom holy-men need not observe faith. To destroy this bill, the first method that occurred was petition; the petitioners very few in number, but certainly very respectable names, complain that they will be greatly prejudiced by the improvement of barren lands*; they petitioned against it in the most unqualified manner, not against

* To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of several of the Clergymen of the Church of Ireland, on behalf of themselves and others of the said Clergy,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners apprehend that the clergy of the said church in general, and your petitioners in particular, will be greatly prejudiced in their properties, in case a bill now depending before your Lordships, to extend the provisions of an “Act to encourage the improvement of barren and waste land and bogs, and planting of timber trees and orchards,” should pass into a law.

Your petitioners therefore humbly beseech your Lordships to permit them to be heard by counsel against the said bill.

And your petitioners will pray.

any particular clause, nor against the frame of the bill, but against the bill itself. The names are few, but if names alone, without reasons, could give weight to a petition, this petition has that weight I acknowledge. I should be sorry to offend against the interest or the apprehensions of the petitioners; unable to reconcile both, and obliged to make a choice, I must advance their interest in defiance of their dispositions. Petition was not deemed sufficient; another method of damnation was resorted to—amendment, and the amendment was a clause of encroachment—an encroachment of the worst kind, an extension of the power of the spiritual courts on the temporal; the spiritual courts were to stand in the place of judge and jury. With what safety you will decide when I read you two decrees of the spiritual court of Cloyne, one excommunicating a countryman for refusing to pay tithe of turf against law, and the other excommunicating eight persons for the same illegal reason. The idea of their amendment was this—“No encroachment on sterility; no invasions of the plough on barren land, unless you will at the same time invade the boundaries of your laws.” This presumptuous amendment being most judiciously withdrawn, because it could not have passed, (for it could not have passed the House of Lords ultimately) another was introduced not equally mischievous; but I speak with the greatest deference to high authority—a little unintelligible—a little long—a little perplexed, and a little embarrassing—a clause in an old miscellaneous act is extracted to be applied to the case of barren land, to which in the English act it had no immediate reference. The above clause requires two witnesses on the part of the countryman, and gives to the parson double costs, and obliges the countryman to declare in prohibition, laying him under the difficulty of an action at law.

The bill so loaded justly fell; those vigilant, but in this instance, most mistaken men, who destroyed it, will hereafter see the wisdom of adopting the bill without the first amendment, without the second amendment, and without any amendment at all.—One should imagine some characters took a pride in barren land; in this sentiment only have they resisted the bill, founded on the English act, enabling the Bishops to grant leases—is it not enough that a thirteenth part of the land of the country should be in the hands of ecclesiastical corporations? Is it necessary that such land should be as barren as possible? You need not ask which is church land in Ireland? you know it by the infallible traces of barrenness and misery; contiguity to a great town is not sufficient to give life and pulsation to this palsied part of the creation; one would imagine the estate was doing penance on earth, and that the inhabitants had laid up all their treasures in Heaven; or were here in a state of Purgatory under Protestant Bishops. Strange, that the latter should object to a tenure which would enable them to make freeholders, and encourage the Protestant interest; strange that they should insist

on keeping their estates on terms at once hostile to representation and conformity. The next resolution which I shall propose to you is one respecting flax : It is as follows :

“ Resolved, That a domestic supply of flax is an object to which all his Majesty’s subjects of Ireland should contribute.

“ 2. That this House has greatly contributed to said object by various bounties, but that the linen manufacture has only flourished in those parts of the kingdom, where a total exemption from, or a small composition for tithe of flax has existed.

“ 3. Resolved, That in order to extend the linen manufacture, said exemption or composition should be made general.”

This too is a principle—the rudiments of manufacture should not be tithed—surely not of your staple, and above all, not of your only staple manufacture ; to advance this has been long the speech from the throne, the echo of that speech your address, and the object of various and expensive premiums ; to introduce it into the South has been long the wish of that province ; to attend to it now has become your particular duty, because Russia has laid a duty of five per cent. on her exports to these countries, the treaty with England being at an end. Will any man in the South sow flax to pay 12s. an acre tithe, when in the North he pays but 6d. per farm ? The despair of the southern provinces to grow flax in any degree, was admitted by a proposal to distribute the flax premiums into provincial portions, on an allegation that the North took a great portion, and the South little or nothing ; that is, the North does grow flax because it does not pay tithe ; and the South does not grow flax, because it does pay tithe ; and thus embarrassed by the tithe, the wretched expedient was to take the bounty from the North, in order to pay the tithe of the South.

Here again I must do justice to Government ; they did intend a modus for flax as well as for hemp, and one reason, perhaps, among others, was the late duty on Russian flax. This gracious and benign intention of Government was by episcopal interference rendered abortive ; that same episcopal interference on which the nation is to charge the loss of the barren-land-bill, did, with the best intentions to be sure, but the worst effect, oppose both salutary measures—the modus for hemp and the modus for flax.

That opposition to the hemp-bill failed, because that bill was deemed beneficial to the navy of England, and was an English as well as an Irish measure ; but that opposition to the flax-bill succeeded, because flax was only material to the Irish manufacture, and was a measure purely Irish. The hemp-bill, however, did not pass unmolested, and the same regard in holy-men for ties with a minister, still operated ; it was teased and persecuted by that same episcopal interference. This bill was to have been de-

feated by petition ; § the petitioners complain of this bill in the same unqualified manner as in the instance of barren land ; they are to be ruined by the extent of manufacture—petition was not relied on ; this bill was also to have been defeated by amendment ; that amendment, intended by way of preamble, set forth, that hemp was an article necessary for the navy of England, to which all his Majesty's subjects should contribute—a facility this in a reverend quarter to grant public money for new purposes, beyond the bounds of duty. This preamble contained three principles : first, an implied protest against the principle of *modus* in favour of Irish manufacture. Secondly, an express assent to that principle of supply to that navy, originating in the Lords, in breach of the privilege of the Commons, at the suggestion of the spiritual Peers ; as the other amendments encroached on the temporal courts, so this encroached on the Commons.—This amendment being most wisely given up, because impracticable, as well as most improper, the whole repugnance to the bill ended in an idle resolution, declaring “ that a domestic supply of hemp may greatly contribute to the maritime protection of this kingdom, an object to be promoted by the united exertions of all his Majesty's subjects ; of which resolution the reverend petitioners have the most reason to complain ; for it says, “ you petition against the manufacturing part of your own flock ; there you are perfectly right, and we are with you ; but your petition goes also against the interest of the navy of England : there you go too far : besides this is a question of British Government, and we on this point not only leave you, but we protest against you, and have entered on the journals our resolution accordingly.”

So it appears as the business was mismanaged ; but those who know the zeal on this occasion of some of the right reverend bench must be convinced that this never was their intention : on the contrary, they did most entirely approve of the petitioners and the petition, and had not perhaps confined their connection

§ To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of several of the Clergymen of the Church of Ireland, on behalf of themselves and others of the said Clergy,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners conceiving that themselves and their brethren may be materially injured by a bill now before this House, entitled “ An Act for the better ascertaining the “ tithes of hemp,” and which is committed for Saturday next, humbly beseech this right honourable House, to permit them to be heard by counsel against the said bill.

And petitioners will pray.

with the petition to the cold and languid office of mere approbation.

The next resolution relates to the sustenance of the poor, as the two others relate immediately to their industry ; it is proposed to put the poor of the South on the same footing with the poor of the North, East, and West, by exempting his potatoe garden from tithe.—When we state that potatoes are the food of the poor, we understate their importance—they are more, they are the protection of the rich against a poor rate, and therefore invaluable to you, as well as to the peasant.

“ Resolved, That potatoes are the principal subsistence of the poor in Ireland, and are, in a great part of the kingdom, most fortunately exempt from tithe.

“ Resolved, That it would much contribute to relieve the poor of the South of this kingdom, if the benefit of said exemption was extended to them ; and if it shall be made to appear that the owners of tithe shall suffer thereby, this House will make them just compensation.”

In three-fourths of this kingdom potatoes pay no tithe, in the South they not only pay but pay most heavily. They pay frequently in proportion to the poverty and helplessness of the countryman ; for in the South it is the practice to crouch to the rich, and to encroach upon the poor ; hence perhaps in the South the mutability of the common people. What so galling, what so inflammatory, as the comparative view of the condition of his Majesty's subjects in one part of the kingdom and the other !—In one part their sustenance is free, and in the other tithed in the greatest degree ; so that a grazier coming from the West to the South shall inform the latter that with him neither potatoes nor hay are tithed ; and a weaver coming from the North shall inform the South that in his country neither potatoes nor flax are tithed ; and thus are men, in the present unequal and unjust state of things, taught to repine, not only by their intercourse with the pastor, but with one another.

To redress this requires no speculation—no extraordinary exercise of the human faculties—no long fatiguing process of reason and calculation, but merely to extend to the poor of the South, the benefits which are enjoyed by his Majesty's subjects in the other parts of Ireland ; it is to put the people of the South on a level with their fellow-creatures.—If it shall be said that such an exemption would cause a great loss to the parson—what a terrible discovery does that objection disclose ! that the clergy of the South are principally supported by the poor, by those whom they ought as moral men to relieve, and Christian men support, according to the strictest discipline of the church.

To excite a certain quarter to this principle, perhaps, the best method would be the stimulation of example.—I shall accordingly

produce two examples, one example drawn from the country supposed to be the most bigoted in Europe, and the other from that man supposed to be the most prone to clerical avarice and ambition.—The first the kingdom of Spain, the latter is the Pope. In 1780, Pope Pius the 6th sends a brief to the King of Spain, enabling him to dispose of one third of ecclesiastical estates and benefices in his presentation, to which no cure of souls was annexed, in charity; and further sets forth in his brief this reason, that the relief and succour of the poor was particularly incumbent on him. The King of Spain in 1783, pursuant to this brief, publishes his edict, reciting the brief, and appointing a commission to dispose of the third as above recited, in the support of the poor, and then he specifies the objects; endowments of all kind of retreats and receptacles for the poor, such as hospitals and houses of charity, foundations for orphans and foundlings:—The better to enforce the execution of the first edict, the King of Spain publishes another, commanding, in a peremptory manner, the execution of the first, and he adds a principle inseparable from the claims of tithe, that such charitable aids peculiarly belong to ecclesiastical rents, according to the most sound and constant discipline of the church.

Here are the Sovereign Pontiff of the Catholic faith, and the Catholic King of Spain, distributing one-third of a part of the revenues of their church for the poor; and here are some of the enlightened doctors of our church deprecating such a principle, and guarding their riches against the encroaching of Christian charity; I hope they will never again afford us such an opportunity of comparing them with the Pope, or contrasting them with the Apostles.—I do not think their riches will be diminished; but if they were to be so—is not the question directly put to them, which will they prefer? their flock or their riches? for which did Christ die, or the apostles suffer martyrdom, or Paul preach, or Luther protest? was it for the tithe of flax, or the tithe of barren land, or the tithe of potatoes, or the tithe proctor, or the tithe farmer, or the tithe pig?—Your riches are secure, but if they were impaired by your acts of benevolence, does our religion depend on your riches? On such a principle your Saviour should have accepted of the kingdoms of the earth, and their glory, and have capitulated with the Devil for the propagation of the faith. Never was a great principle rendered prevalent by power or riches—low and artificial means are resorted to for the fulfilling the little views of men, their love of power, their avarice, or ambition; but to apply to the great design of God such wretched auxiliaries, is to forget his divinity, and to deny his omnipotence. What! does the word come more powerfully from a dignitary in purple and fine linen, than it came from the poor apostle with nothing but the spirit of the Lord on his lips, and the glory of God standing on his right hand? What! my Lords, not cultivate barren land; not encourage the manufac-

tures of your country; not relieve the poor of your flock, if the church is to be at any expence thereby—where shall we find this principle? not in the Bible. I have adverted to the sacred writings without criticism I allow, but not without devotion—there is not in any part of them such a sentiment—not in the purity of Christ, nor the poverty of the apostles, nor the prophecy of Isaiah, nor the patience of Job, nor the harp of David, nor the wisdom of Solomon!—No, my Lords, on this subject your Bible is against you—the precepts and practice of the primitive church against you—the great word increase and multiply—the axiom of philosophy that nature does nothing in vain—the productive principle that formed the system, and defends it against the ambition and encroachments of its own elements; the reproductive principle which continues the system, and which makes vegetation support life, and life administer back again to vegetation; taking from the grave its sterile quality, and making death itself propagate to life and succession—the plenitude of things, and the majesty of nature through all her organs—manifest against such a sentiment; this blind fatality of error, which, under pretence of defending the wealth of the priesthood, checks the growth of mankind, arrests his industry, and makes the sterility of the planet a part of its religion.

As I have proposed three measures for the benefit of the people, I shall now submit a fourth for the benefit of the church; it is a resolution which is as follows:

“Resolved, that this House will be ready to relieve the owners of tithe from the necessity of drawing the same; and to give said owners a power of recovering the value of the same, in all cases, by civil bill, or otherwise, provided said owners of tithe shall conform to certain rateages to be ascertained by act of Parliament.”

The resolution will be best explained by a bill which I have drawn, and which I mean to propose hereafter—the brief of which I will now state to you. The bill enacts that every owner of tithe shall be relieved from the difficulty of drawing the same, by civil bill, for any sum whatsoever; provided said owner of tithe shall conform to certain rateages in the bill set forth—these rateages will be such as Parliament shall think proper, different perhaps according to the different provinces, and the result of the enquiry of provinces, and the result of the enquiry of provincial committees.

I have set forth in the bill for Munster, such a rateage as was nearly stated by learned authority as the average rateage of the richest diocese therein; the principal articles of which are,

6s. Potatoes, the Irish acre.	3s. Meadow.
6s. Wheat.	3s. Oats.
5s. Barley.	

The bill enacts, that in the neighbourhood of a city the tithe of meadow shall be increased; it further enacts, that the owner of tithe shall have a power, on due notice, to enter in order to survey; it enacts, that the above rateages shall be estimated as worth so many stone of bread corn, which is every seven years to be valued by the clerk of the market, who strikes the averages for the kingdom; that septennial valuation of the corn, to be the septennial rateages for the owner of tithe.

The bill enacts that all small dues shall cease, and that instead thereof, in parishes where small dues shall have been paid for these last ten years, a valuation shall be made of such by a person appointed in vestry; said valuation to be levied not off the poor, nor the particular individual, but generally after the manner of baronial charges; my idea and fixed intention being to relieve the poor of the South from the tithe of potatoes, and the North from small dues—an endeavour which however opposed, will by perseverance succeed—it is rational, it is just.—The bill contains a proviso which saves and confirms all kind of modusses or exemption; so that what has not hitherto paid, shall not pay now—thus potatoes and other articles, where they have not usually paid, shall not become titheable.

The next resolution is to compel residence: 'tis strange that such a resolution should ever have become necessary.

“Resolved, That the better to secure the residence of the clergy, a moderate tax on non-residents would be expedient.”

In the long contest of the clergy on the subject of tithe, I do not find that residence has been much insisted on, as useful to the Protestant interest, though tithe has been thought indispensable. Provided tithe shall be paid, it seems what is done for the tithe, the preaching and the praying, is not material in the opinion of the grave and reverend personages—the army do not act by proxy—the commissioners, the judges do not act by deputation. I have never heard of virtual redemption, salvation by remote and magnetical operation—residence is required by canon, common, and statute law; by the canon law a parson who left his living without leave was deprived—by the common law it appears residence was necessary, for when an action was brought against the rector of B. he pleaded that he was commorant in D.—the plea was overruled, because he had not denied himself to be rector of B. and his parish determined his locality necessary by several statutes. The acts of Henry VIII. after 40 days non-residence imposes a fine; the act of Edward VI. after 80 days absence, disables the parson from recovering on his own leases—the act of Henry VI. subjects a parson who leaves the country to the forfeiture of his annual income—but though the law were silent, decency on this occasion is loud: what a cast and complexion are thrown on this question and those who so strenuously insist on the law for tithe, and so commonly transgress the body of law that requires them to attend to the duties of religion! In

England residence is better observed and enforced; the practice of England has shewn a greater regard both for husbandry and prayer; and yet in England residence is not more necessary, because our lower people want more instruction, and our country can less afford any addition to the absentee drain, to which an absentee tithe, and absentee gospel are sad aggravations!—Talk not of a want of glebe house, or even of churches: has the presbyter a glebe house? has the priest a glebe house? does the latter preach the errors of the church of Rome from a straw-built hovel, and do our clergy to preach the truth of the Protestant religion require a mansion?—had the first fruits been by the richer parts of their own order, and particularly the Bishops, faithfully and justly valued and applied to the building of churches, and the increase of poor livings, the advocates for non-residence would want their voluptuous apology.—But it has happened that the first fruits, by a remote and antiquated valuation, are rendered of no account—they do not, by that valuation, which was made in the reign of Henry VIII. produce more than 430*l.* at this day the bishopricks alone amount to near 70,000*l.* a year, the first fruit of which, without going farther, would be a great fund for building of churches and glebe-houses, and increasing poor livings. You see that in fact the first fruits are now a most miserable modus; and it is very remarkable, that the very men who object to any modus, however rational, in favour of the manufacturer, have themselves set up a modus against the church—a modus the most irrational and illiberal, against the poor of their own order, and the house of their own God! “We cannot reside, because we have neither house nor church;” that is, the richer part of your order have taken to themselves the funds of the church, and now you have no place to pray in.

But though I would compel residence, I would compel it by a moderate process; a moderate tax to commence after absence for a certain time. I would not leave the dispensing with residence to the bishop, because I would not put into his hands the talents and suffrages of the parochial clergy—I would not enable him to say, Sir, you have written too freely on constitutional subjects, you must reside; or, Sir, you have voted for the popular candidate, and must reside.—I would not make residence an instrument of undue influence, nor would I wish to make the parochial clergy mean and subservient to their bishop.—I would compel residence by a tax, and that should be moderate, with certain allowances; my principle with respect to the residence of the minister being this, his parish ought to be his home, but not to be his prison.

I have submitted the resolutions—I mean to put the House in possession of them—all I desire is that they may have a fair examination—of Government all I ask is impartiality—all I deprecate is predetermination—I do not desire that they should assent to either my facts or principles, but I desire a fair trial for both.

—I desire moreover, that in holding their deliberation they may not take into their cabinet the enemy—if these principles are false, they will die of themselves, without the interposition of Government; if right, they will at last prevail, and then Government would be obliged to retract a resistance precipitately made.—As to the southern peasantry, all I ask on their part is Peace. If the White-Boys break out again, I give up this business.—I will be the first to support strong measures of coercion.—The gentlemen of the South should inform them, that if they had originally represented the oppressions they suffer under tithe by humble petition to Parliament, they must have been redressed; the parson and the tithe farmer would not have chosen to have defended, or to continue demands publicly stigmatised for extortion and avarice. In a free country, the mere promulgation of injury, is the certainty of redress; but those desperate wretches had not the courage to apply to the Legislature, and had the despair to apply to outrage; the consequence was, as always must be, they consigned their bodies to the hangman, and left to their families a continuation of the grievances, and involved in their disgrace a great part of the peasantry who were equally oppressed, and entirely innocent.—The truth is, the tithe farmer had no case but the White-Boy, they both stood on the crimes of the other, and murder was a greater offence than extortion.

With respect to a right reverend bench, I mean a part of that bench, all I ask is Temper.—I stated several allegations—I am ready to prove them.—I stated that in some parts of the South the demands of tithe had exceeded the bounds of law; I repeat the allegation. I stated that the proctor had in many places demanded and received a certain per centage called proctorage against law and charity; I repeat that allegation. I stated that in parts of the South certain ministers or their proctors had been guilty of exactions which were unconscionable, and I stated also that they had recently and greatly and unconscionably increased their rateages; I repeat that allegation. I stated that the tithe farmers did very generally in the parts disturbed oppress the common people, and had exceeded their legal powers, or had most grossly abused them: these allegations I repeat now—and am ready to go into proofs, whenever gentlemen chuse to give me such an opportunity.

I am not responsible for the precise quantity of every return stated to me.—Some of the statements are official, and cannot be disputed, and are enormous; others come from the oppressed, and may be sanguine; I am not responsible for the precise quantities in such a case; but I am responsible for this allegation, that there exists great oppression—I repeat it again, there exists great oppression.

As to the resolutions which I now submit, and which next session I shall move, the right reverend quarter will consider that

some of these propositions are in their principles already the law of England. With what justice can they attempt to deprive Ireland of the benefit of such laws? Ireland, a country requiring so much more encouragement, and paying abundantly more to the church.—A celebrated Bishop in England has calculated that the income of the church in England, including all bishopricks, and even the estates of the universities, would, if distributed, amount to 150l. for each clergyman.—A learned Bishop in Ireland has calculated, that excluding bishopricks and universities, the income of the church in Ireland would amount to 148l. for each clergyman.—Thus, by this calculation, excluding their great riches, I mean the bishopricks, the ministers of the Protestant church of Ireland have within 2l. as much as in England; and, including bishopricks, must have beyond all comparison more than in England, while the extent of the cures is incomparably less, even supposing our clergy were all to reside, and while this kingdom has two other orders of priesthood to support.—Such of our bishops who come from another country, and have intercepted the views of some of the younger branches of our best families here will naturally wish to make some compensation.—The laws of the country to which they owe their birth, they I suppose will not object to communicate to this country to which they owe their situation.

Some of the resolutions are not only founded on principles of husbandry, but maxims of Christianity; these I hope will not meet with inveterate opposition from any of the right reverend bench:—those of them the most adverse and inveterate will soften when they consider the Christianity of clothing the naked, and feeding the hungry, or rather indeed of suffering the naked and the hungry to feed and clothe themselves, by encouraging their manufacture—giving certain privileges to their infant labours, and by leaving in their principal food the poor unoppressed by avarice and exaction under any pretence whatsoever. However, if this shall not be the case—if these sound doctrines and these charitable principles are received by some of a certain quarter with hardness of heart, and their author with clerical scurrility, I cannot help it, I shall persist notwithstanding, making my solemn appeal against such men to their own gospel; which as it is the foundation of their power, so must it be the limits of our veneration.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, though he would not agree to have the question put on the resolutions, yet he hoped it would not be supposed that he differed with the right honourable gentleman on the principles—that the improvement of land ought to be encouraged—that manufactures ought to be encouraged, and that the poor ought to be relieved—he fully acceded to these principles, and he bore testimony to the good intentions of the right honourable gentleman, and also offered his

tribute of praise to those abilities which had made every man of every description, and of all religions, subservient to his argument; but where even those abilities had not attempted to offer any settled plan, and where any alteration was to affect a body of men so intimately linked with the state as the clergy of Ireland were, he thought it would be madness to run hastily into a declaration.

The right honourable gentleman, he said, looked only for deliberation—required but a fair hearing; that being his object, it would most certainly be attained, for his opinions were held in such high estimation; that they would find their way into every part of the kingdom long before the next session; there was therefore no necessity to enter them on the journals of Parliament.—From the conduct of gentlemen in another place, he was not, he said, surprised at the right honourable gentleman's acting as he did, that conduct he could not approve, and though he now wished to get rid of the subject for the present, and did not think it convenient to put the resolutions on the journals, yet he hoped in moving the question of adjournment, he would not be thought to dissent from the principles advanced by the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) declared that he could not accede to Mr. Grattan's resolution relative to barren lands, because it was unnecessary, and because it implied a censure upon the opposers of a late bill, as if they had opposed the improvement of the country. The clergy never did oppose the principle of that bill, although they might with very great reason have complained, that they alone were to pay for the improvement of the country, while the landlord did not offer to remit one farthing of his rent, upon these improved or reclaimed lands. However, they did not object to this burden, although so evidently unfair.—All they desired was, that the bill should be modified in the same manner with the English act, made for the very same purpose. The word barren was a vague word, leaving room for infinite dispute. Any land which had not been cultivated might, by different tricks and arts be construed to be barren, and therefore the English legislature had limited it by adding, which had not paid tithe, by reason of its barrenness. The English legislature also saw, that without some restriction, this law would enable any person, barely by pleading that his land was barren, to get a prohibition, and oust the Ecclesiastical Court of its jurisdiction, in all tithe suits; and therefore they obliged any such person, moving for a prohibition, (on the suggestion of his land being barren) to prove his suggestion within six months, under the pain of double costs.—The late bill had been brought in, without either of these limitations. One of the ablest counsel in the kingdom had given his opinion, that it would ruin the Church.—A venerable prelate, to whose watchful guardianship the Church was exceedingly in-

debted, had introduced in the other House, two clauses, literally copied from the English act, to remedy these inconveniencies. The first was adopted in the lower House. The bill was totally, but unaccountably rejected, on account of the second. This was the true state of the case, and yet a great deal of idle calumny had been thrown upon the opposers of that bill, as enemies to the improvement of the country. How could any person wish to prevent improvement? How could it be for his interest? It was absurd to suppose it. The petitioners against the bill were most respectable and sensible men, and never would have opposed the bill unless they had thought it insidious.

As to the land improved being subject to tithe, after seven years, he said, in all probability the plan would be, at the expiration of that term, to desert that ground, as being then totally exhausted, and to break up new; a custom very frequent in Irish farming.

It had been said there was an Irish act, 5th of George II. exempting certain produce of barren lands from tithe, without any of the restrictions in the English act; but it must be noticed, that that act extended only to hemp, flax and rape, and therefore little inference could be drawn, from so narrow a bill, to one of such a very extensive nature as the bill alluded to.

He said he laughed at that provision of the bill, that the lands should not be exempt from tithe, if they had ever paid it before. The proof of this was to lie upon the parson. How could he prove it, when the lands had lain fallow any number of years, and when every person in the parish was interested to keep evidence from him?

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he agreed with the right hon. mover of the resolutions as to several points, but he did not think it necessary to put them on the Journals, as the House, by passing the bill for barren lands, had declared a much stronger approbation than resolutions could do. He had been, and was still of opinion, that that bill was highly useful to the clergy as well as the laity; and he thought the clergy had taken a false alarm; but he was, however, ready to excuse them, when he considered how much they had suffered from oppression. He felt that they must be timid, and subject to alarm at any innovation; yet they should have had more reliance upon that House, that had so often and so effectually interfered on their behalf. As to the alarm that law-suits would spring up from the bill, there was no manner of ground for it. Barren lands had been so completely defined by the decisions of the English courts, that no possibility of doubt remained, yet the amendments, though unnecessary, did not to him appear injurious. As to the modus of flax he was not perfectly decided; but he inclined to agree with the right hon. gentleman; and he was of opinion, that it would much tend to quiet the minds of the people, if they saw that while Par-

liament was protecting the clergy, they were also paying some regard to the laity. He did not, however, agree as to the assertion, that a great part of the kingdom was exempted from tithe of potatoes. He thought the whole, of right, equally liable to that tithe, though by violence the clergy had in some places been deprived of their right; and he was convinced, that were tithe to be taken off the potatoe lands of Munster, the poor would not be one whit benefited thereby, as the land-jobbers would raise the lands in proportion. Nay more, as had been proved—when a rumour was spread that tithe of potatoes were abolished, the jobbers raised the lands a guinea per acre.

The right hon. gentleman had said, there was oppression; he agreed there was, but it was the clergy that had suffered it. He concluded with saying, that he was an enemy to all general resolutions; the resolution concerning agistment should be a warning to the House how it entered hastily into them.

Mr. MASON said he rose to offer a word in defence of that province to which he belonged—the province of Connaught. The right hon. the Secretary of State had said, that the clergy had a right to tithe potatoes throughout the whole kingdom, but that they had in some places, by violence, been deprived of that right. The fact was otherwise—no man had ever paid, nor had any man ever demanded tithe of potatoes in the province of Connaught.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN said he relied upon the example of the wisest states in Europe. France had remitted the revenues payable to the Crown for twenty years after any waste or uncultivated lands should be improved, and the clergy of that kingdom had generously followed the example of the King, and remitted tithes under the same circumstance, and for the same space. This, he hoped, would be an incitement to the clergy of Ireland.

TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1788.

The SECRETARY OF STATE presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend an act, entitled an act for establishing a compleat school of physic in this kingdom, so far as relates to clinical lectures; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of the high sheriff and grand jury of the county of Dublin, at Easter Term, 1788, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the drinking of spirituous liquors in this kingdom, and particularly in its metropolis, has arisen among the lower ranks of people to a very alarming degree; that it has occasioned the loss of the health and lives of great numbers

of his Majesty's subjects ; that it has prevented the industry, debauched the morals of the people, and hurried them into the most shocking excesses of vice and riot ; that the petitioners hear, with great pleasure, that his Excellency the Chief Governor has declared his readiness to contribute to the suppression of this practice, which is the source of almost every public evil ; and therefore praying the House to take the premises into consideration, and apply such remedy as it shall judge proper.

FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1788.

Mr. CURRAN informed the House that at the last assizes of the county of Cork, a very great number of persons had been taken upon the most groundless and frivolous pretence, some for dormant crimes, others for offences long past, and many for no offences at all, as appeared either by there not being any complaint or bill of indictment preferred against them, or where bills had been preferred, by their being in many instances ignored by the grand jury. This grievance, he understood, arose from the establishment of the police in that county ; they, he was informed, took up many people merely for the sake of the conduct money. In order therefore that Parliament might have this matter fairly before them at the beginning of the next session, he would move a resolution to the following effect : " Resolved, that the Clerk of the Crown for the county of Cork, do on the first day of the next session return to this House an account of all persons imprisoned in that county from the first of May, 1787, to the first of May, 1788, together with an account of the crimes charged against them, also what number of indictments were preferred, specifying such as were found and such as were ignored."—Ordered accordingly.

After some observations on the very great importance of the office of Master of the Rolls, lately vacant by the death of Mr. Rigby, he said he was happy in thinking that the present Government acted upon such liberal principles, and had so much at heart the good of the country, that if Parliament did its duty in pointing out the necessity of filling that office with an efficient man, Government would no doubt coincide ; he would therefore move an address to his Majesty, in which he stated, that the fittings of the Court of Chancery, were much protracted, and many inconveniencies had arisen from the want of an efficient Master of the Rolls, and prayed that the present vacancy might be filled with a person competent to discharge the duties of that office.

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a censure on the Lord Chancellor. He could not see how the public was injured by the long sitting of the Court of Chancery; the lawyers might suffer some inconvenience, and the judge undergo uncommon fatigue, but the public sustained no manner of injury whatever; besides, it was not by any means certain that should the vacancy be filled agreeable to the wish of the honourable gentleman, a Master of the Rolls in Ireland could act in aid of the Lord Chancellor, as in England, without a special act of Parliament to enable him so to do; the address was therefore useless until such an act should pass; whenever that happened, it would be (he was going to say) the duty of the Crown to appoint the efficient person.

While the Solicitor was speaking, a message from the Lord Lieutenant was announced.

The following message was received from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:

" Mr. Speaker,

" It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers."

The Speaker, with the House, went up to attend his Excellency; and being returned, the Speaker reported that the House had attended his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Excellency was pleased to give the royal assent to the following bills:

PUBLIC BILLS.

1. An act for repealing an act made in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, entitled an act for the election of the Lord Justice; and also for the election of a Lord Justice and Governor of this realm, upon the event and in the manner therein mentioned.

2. An act for more effectually preventing frauds against his Majesty's revenue, and for continuing and amending the several acts of Parliament therein mentioned.

3. An act to enable the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom to appoint commissioners for enquiring into the several funds and revenues granted by public or private donations for the purposes of education in this kingdom, and into the state and condition of all schools in this kingdom on public or charitable foundations, and of the funds appropriated for the maintenance and support thereof, and for the other purposes therein mentioned.

4. An act for continuing the acts relative to bankrupts, and for reviving, continuing and amending certain temporary statutes.

5. An act for the further amendment of the law relative to the registering of freeholders.

6. An act to repeal an act passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, entitled an act of appeals; and to enable the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of this kingdom, for the time being, to issue commissions of appeal from the courts of the archbishops within the same.

7. An act for the amendment of the law in certain particulars therein mentioned.

8. An act for rendering more effectual an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, entitled an act for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain statutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin, and for other purposes.

9. An act to explain, amend and render more effectual an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, entitled an act to establish the business of a pawnbroker, and to authorize such persons as shall be duly qualified to carry on the same to lend money on pawns or pledges, and to receive interest at a higher rate than heretofore was recoverable by law.

10. An act for better supplying the city of Dublin with water, and for extending the powers of grand juries with respect to the roads lying within the county of the said city.

11. An act to amend an act passed in the last session of Parliament for improving and repairing the turnpike road from Dublin to Dunleer.

12. An act for the relief of insolvent debtors with respect to the imprisonment of their persons.

13. An act to explain and amend an act made in the fifth and sixth years of his present Majesty George the Third, entitled an act for the encouraging the cultivation and for the better preservation of trees, shrubs, plants and roots.

14. An act for the better securing of purchasers of lands under decrees in courts of equity.

15. An act to amend an act passed in the last session of Parliament, entitled an act for regulating the baking trade.

16. An act for the better preservation of sheep, and the more speedy detection of sheep-stealers.

17. An act to explain and amend the laws relative to the fisheries on the coasts of this kingdom.

18. An act for the better ascertaining the tithe of hemp.

19. An act for the relief of persons who have omitted to qualify themselves according to law.

20. An act for the further payment of the debts of the late corporation for promoting inland navigations in Ireland, by rectifying an omission in the schedule annexed to the act of last session, entitled an act for the directing the application of the funds granted by Parliament for promoting and carrying on inland navigation in this kingdom, and for the purposes therein mentioned.

21. An act to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for improving and repairing the turnpike road leading from the city of Dublin to Kilkullen-bridge in the county of Kildare, and to the twenty-one mile stone westward of the said bridge.

22. An act for making a navigable canal from the town of Malahide, in the county of Dublin, to the river of Fieldstown, in the said county.

23. An act for extending to the roads leading to Dublin through Raheny and Clontarf the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of his Majesty's reign, entitled an act for making, widening and repairing the road leading from Dublin to Malahide, and for erecting turnpike gates, and receiving tolls thereout in aid of the barony presentments, and for appointing trustees for carrying the said purposes into execution, and also for continuing the said act.

P R I V A T E B I L L S.

1. An act for sale of part of the settled estate of the right honourable Denis Daly, Esq; for the payment of certain incumbrances affecting the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

2. An act for vesting the several towns, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the counties of Galway, Mayo and Roscommon, and county of the town of Galway, the estates of Robert and Richard Martin, of Dangan, in the county of the town of Galway, Esqs. in Sir Michael Cromie, Bart. and Francis Vesey, Esq; trustees, to raise a sum of money sufficient to pay off the debts and incumbrances therein mentioned.

3. An act for vesting certain castles, towns, lands, tenements and hereditaments, situate in the counties of Galway, Roscommon, and county of the town of Galway, the estates of James Skerret, of Drumgriffin, in the county of Galway, Esq; in trustees, that the same or a competent part thereof may be sold or mortgaged for the payment of debts and incumbrances affecting the same.

4. An act for vesting in trustees certain real freehold and leasehold lands situate in the counties of Galway and Roscommon, the estates and property of Michael Burke, of Ballydugan, in the county of Galway, Esq; in order to be sold or mortgaged for the payment of debts, charges and incumbrances affecting the same, and for other purposes.

5. An act for explaining and amending an act of Parliament made in the twenty-first year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, entitled an act for the sale of a competent part of the settled estate of Arthur Cooper, Esq; Sarah Cooper, otherwise Carleton, and William Henry Cooper, Esq; for the payment of debts and other incumbrances affecting the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

And then his Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament, which is as follows :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The very constant and zealous attention which you have given to the dispatch of public business, enables me at this early period of the year to close the session of Parliament ; and I feel the highest gratification in expressing to you his Majesty’s entire satisfaction in the temper and wisdom which have uniformly distinguished your deliberations.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I am commanded by his Majesty, particularly to thank you for the warm attention which you have shewn to the honour and interest of his crown, and for the liberality with which you have provided for the several branches of the public service.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ No object is nearer to his Majesty’s heart than the prosperity of his faithful subjects of Ireland. And I reflect with pleasure, that your example and influence in your several counties, cannot fail to advance that prosperity, by encouraging habits of industry in the people, and impressing upon their minds a due respect for the laws. I am happy that the national tranquility and security, enable you to attend to those important objects with peculiar advantage.

“ I trust it is unnecessary to repeat any acknowledgments for the confidence which you have so kindly reposed in me, and to assure you, that the liveliest emotions of gratitude and affection will excite my utmost exertions for the welfare and happiness of this kingdom.”

And then the Lord Chancellor declared, that it was his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 17th day of June next ; and the Parliament was accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 17th day of June next.



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